

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXII.

BALTIMORE, JUNE, 1907.

No. 6.

SCHILLERS EINFLUSS AUF HEBBEL.

Allen Freunden der deutschen Literatur in Amerika muss es zur Freude gereichen, dass das Jahr 1906 hierzulande zwei Arbeiten über Friedrich Hebbel gezeitigt hat. Miss Annina Periam hat als eine der "Columbia University Germanic Studies" eine ausführliche Untersuchung über Hebbels *Nibelungen* veröffentlicht, und Mr. Ernst O. Eckelmann eröffnete bald darauf die "Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs" der New York University mit einer Studie über *Schillers Einfluss auf die Jugenddramen Hebbels*. Von der ersten Arbeit hat der berufenste Kritiker, Prof. R. M. Werner, gesagt: ¹ "man muss staunen, dass ein solches Buch in Amerika möglich war"; die zweite möchte ich nun in diesen Spalten einer kurzen Besprechung unterziehen. Sie besteht aus einer Einleitung und fünf Kapiteln mit den Überschriften: (1) *Historische Beziehungen*, (2) *Die Prinzipien der Philosophie*, (3) *Die Prinzipien der dramatischen Theorie*, (4) *Hebbels Kritik*, (5) *Die Jugenddramen Hebbels*. Dazu kommen als *Anhang* eine Reihe von Zitaten aus Hebbels Tagebüchern und Briefen, und die einschlägige *Bibliographie*.

Aus den Kapitelüberschriften ersieht man ohne Mühe was der Verfasser will, aber eben darin fällt auch schon eine gewisse Unbestimmtheit auf. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass nicht von den *Prinzipien der Philosophie* überhaupt die Rede ist; aber was ist unter *Hebbels Kritik* oder gar unter *Historischen Beziehungen* zu verstehen? Doch wohl Kritik der Dramen Schillers und Beziehungen zu Schiller? Im ersten Kapitel finden wir eine gedrängte Übersicht über Hebbels Entwicklungsgang, die zugleich chronologisch und entwicklungsgeschichtlich sein möchte und eigentlich so wenig das eine wie das andere ist; weil einmal die Daten und Epochen nicht deutlich hervortreten, und zweitens das Verhältnis zu Schiller mehr vorausgesetzt als erwiesen wird und

als ein ziemlich konstantes erscheint, indem von allerlei anderen Verhältnissen und von allgemeineren ästhetischen Fragen gesprochen wird. Darunter finden sich mehrere gewagte Behauptungen, die doch gerade hier begründet werden müssten. So z. B. "Die Zeit der Jugendentfaltung . . . ist besonders gekennzeichnet durch den Einfluss Schillers im Frühjahr 1837 in München" (S. 14); "Hebbels Auffassung des Charakters [der Jungfrau von Orleans] war das Ergebnis einer Vergleichung der dramatischen Gestalt Schillers mit der historischen Persönlichkeit" (S. 19); "er befasste sich vornehmlich mit der dramatischen Technik Schillers, wie man wohl annehmen darf" (S. 20); "der vergleichenden Untersuchung der dramatischen Gestalt Schillers und der historischen Persönlichkeit der Jungfrau müssen wir zum grossen Teil Hebbels tiefe Erfassung des Tragischen zuschreiben" (S. 21). Das alles bezweifle ich sehr, und ich glaube, eine einfache Beachtung der Chronologie von Hebbels Äusserungen über Schiller und die *Jungfrau* in München macht es höchst wahrscheinlich, dass zu Hebbels Auffassung des Charakters der Jungfrau von Orleans das Schillersche Stück so gut wie gar nichts beigetragen hat. Die "tiefe Erfassung des Tragischen" suchte Hebbel damals überall, nur nicht bei Schiller.

Die drei folgenden Kapitel sind kürzer, übersichtlicher, und haben nur in Bezug auf das Ganze Bedeutung. Der Kern der Sache steckt im fünften Kapitel. Hier versucht Dr. Eckelmann den Beweis zu erbringen, dass Hebbel bei der Komposition seiner *Judith* beinahe Schritt für Schritt und Hand in Hand mit Schiller gegangen sei, speziell, dass der Aufbau der *Jungfrau von Orleans* sich mit einigen Änderungen in Hebbels *Judith* wieder finde (S. 48). Zur Veranschaulichung dienen ein graphisches Schema und eine Tabelle mit Stoff und "stofflicher Vorlage" (S. 54 f.).

Nun ist zwar nicht zu verkennen, dass die beiden Stücke eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit miteinander haben. Es ist aber sehr die Frage, ob

¹DLZ, 1906, Sp. 3061.

diese nicht mit der Sache selbst gegeben war und nicht im besten Falle rein äusserlich ist. Meinetwegen mag "Bertrams [richtig Bertrand, S. 61] Unglücksbotschaften" (S. 55) "Mirzas Bericht vom Wassermangel" entsprechen, auf jenen basiert ist dieser darum noch nicht; und solange nicht bis zur Evidenz dargetan ist, dass Hebbel jedesmal erst bei Schiller anfragt, wie dies und das zu machen sei, hat es keinen Sinn, "Johannas Unerschrockenheit" als "Vorlage" für "Judiths Schaudern" zu bezeichnen. Für Eckelmann ist es allerdings "Tatsache, dass Hebbels *Judith* gewissermassen eine Polemik gegen Schillers *Jungfrau von Orleans* bedeutet, insofern sie die psychologische Behandlung desselben historischen Charakters darstellt" (S. 60). Meiner Meinung nach ist diese Polemik sowenig Tatsache, als es wahr ist, dass Judith und Johanna ein und derselbe historische Charakter sind. Zugegeben aber, dass Hebbel gegen Schiller polemisiert, sind wir dann noch berechtigt, von "Einfluss" und "Vorlage" zu reden? Die Tabelle auf S. 55 enthält zwölf Hauptpunkte in der *Judith*. Bei vieren fehlt "die auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit Schiller" (S. 54); bei weiteren vier ist die Ähnlichkeit eine auf dem Kopf stehende, also "Polemik"; und es bleiben aus der *Jungfrau von Orleans* "Bertrands Unglücksbotschaften," "Hofszenen in Chinon," "Bestimmung der Johanna," "Johannas prophetische Vision" als etwaige "stoffliche Vorlage" zu "Mirzas Bericht vom Wassermangel," "Volksszenen in Bethulien," "Bestimmung der Judith," "Judiths Beobachtungsgabe"—also Nachahmung. Auch hiervon fällt jedoch "Johannas prophetische Vision" gleich weg, denn der Verfasser gewährt uns keinen Aufschluss darüber, in welchem Verhältnis diese zu "Judiths Beobachtungsgabe" stehen soll, und letztere besteht hauptsächlich darin, dass Judith den Holofernes auf den ersten Blick erkennt (S. 65). Kein Wunder! Und dass Schillers *Jungfrau* ebenfalls den Dauphin erkennt, will eben nicht viel sagen, denn dasselbe wird auch von der historischen Johanna berichtet. Auf die beiden Berichte, die Hof- resp. Volksszenen, und die "Bestimmungs"-Szenen einzugehen, lohnt sich nicht. Wem es Spass macht, sich zu erinnern, dass vor Holofernes schon Wallenstein ein "gebietendes Auge" besessen habe (S. 68), dem ist

es zu gönnen; aber bei einer Liste von achtundzwanzig "parallelen Stellen" (S. 70), womit der Kompilator selbst nichts anzufangen weiss, wollen wir uns nicht aufhalten.

Ich halte Eckelmanns sorgfältige Arbeit zwar für verfehlt, möchte sie aber nicht als wertlos verwerfen. Es ist viel interessantes Material darin zusammengestellt, was zu denken gibt und zur Nachprüfung anregt. Zu bedauern ist es, dass er sein Problem nicht klarer erfasst, und seine Resultate nicht einheitlicher gruppiert hat. Vor allem wünschte ich eine Verständigung über die Bedeutung und Tragweite des Wortes *Einfluss*. Ist Einfluss da vorhanden, wo ein Dichter das verbessert, was sein Vorgänger nicht gut gemacht hat? Ist ein Vorgänger *eo ipso* Muster? Was ist bei zwei ähnlichen Werken das Entscheidende, die Übereinstimmung einzelner Faktoren oder die Verschiedenheit der Produkte als Ganzes? Wenn die Produkte als Ganzes verschieden sind, weshalb soll der Schöpfer des einen gerade in dem andern Motive und Gedanken aufgegriffen haben, die er ebenso gut hätte anderswo hernehmen können? Freilich, wer blindlings darauf ausgeht, "Einfluss" zu entdecken, der findet am Ende, wie Fries,² dass sogar Ausrufungszeichen dafür zeugen! Es ist zum Staunen, wie man das Wort immer wieder im Munde führt, ohne sich dabei etwas Rechtes zu denken. Oder hat folgender Satz Eckelmanns wirklich einen greifbaren Gehalt? "Am 10. März 1836 [lies 1838] sah Hebbel den Esslair als Wallenstein. Man kann den tiefen und nachwirkenden Einfluss, den diese Vorstellung in ihm hervorrief, aus den Kritiken in seinen Münchener Briefen etc. deutlich erkennen (S. 23 f.)." In einem "Ideen-dichter" soll das Spiel eines berühmten Histrionen in einem gleichzeitig als ideenlos erkannten Stücke einen *Einfluss hervorgerufen* haben! Nein, echter und rechter Einfluss ist nur da nachzuweisen, wo man ganz gewiss weiss, dass einem Dichter die "Vorlage" tatsächlich vorgelegen hat, oder aber wo man zwingende Gründe hat, anzunehmen, dass es von vorn herein wahrscheinlich ist, der betreffende Dichter würde die "Vorlage" benutzen, wenn sie zur Hand wäre.

² *Vergleichende Studien zu Hebbels Fragmenten*, Berl., 1903, S. 23.

Nicht jede Berührung bedeutet Einfluss, und ein *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc* kann nirgends grösseres Unheil stiften, als gerade bei der Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung. Von dem Wert der Quellenforschung als solcher sehe ich gänzlich ab; wo es sich aber um Hebbel und Schiller handelt, da ist sie in der Tat sehr schlecht angebracht. Die weitere Begründung meiner Ansichten muss ich auf eine spätere Gelegenheit versparen. Wen es interessiert, zu erfahren, wie ich diese Dinge ansehe, den verweise ich auf die nächste Nummer der *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (Vol. xxii, pp. 309-344).

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THE SOURCES OF THE TEXT OF *HAMLET* IN THE EDITIONS OF ROWE, POPE, AND THEOBALD.

After the publication of the fourth folio in 1685, there seems still to have been a demand for the cheap separate copies of the plays. *Hamlet*, being one of the most popular, was issued at least twice between 1685 and 1709, at which time Rowe brought out his edition of Shakespeare's works, the first octavo edition. These two quartos, and two others, bearing the dates, 1676 and 1683, are known as the players' quartos of *Hamlet* and are without any considerable textual value.

There is no doubt that Rowe followed the fourth folio, but he did not follow it so closely as has been supposed. Many plays which before had no divisions, he divided into acts and scenes, while he further divided others which had very few. Even when the folios have divisions, he does not always follow these. For example, in the folios the first act of *Hamlet* is divided into three scenes; Rowe has the same number, but his third scene does not begin at the same point as that of the folios. The second act in the folios is divided into two scenes, which divisions Rowe follows. The folios offer no further division, but Rowe, perhaps following a players' quarto, divides the play into the usual five acts, the last three of which he divides into scenes. Throughout the *Tragedies* Rowe has indicated the place of each of

his scenes, but in the *Histories* and *Comedies* he has often neglected to do so, and Pope sometimes supplies these omissions. Although Rowe did his collating with great carelessness, for which he has been severely blamed, he made some happy emendations, and some judicious restorations from the older editions. Too sweeping changes have frequently been made by writers, among whom may be named the Cambridge editors, who say: "it is almost certain that he [Rowe] did not take the trouble to refer to, much less to collate, any of the previous Folios or Quartos. It seems, however, while the volume containing *Romeo and Juliet* was in the press he learned the existence of a Quarto edition, for he has printed the prologue given in the Quartos and omitted in the Folios, at the end of the play"¹ (vol. i, p. xxix). If the printing of the prologue to *Romeo and Juliet* is admitted as evidence that Rowe saw a quarto of that play, which I think it entirely fair to do, then the following selections will show that he must have seen some quarto of *Hamlet*, for he introduces into his text about a hundred and twenty readings from the quartos which are different from those of the folios, and at least nine² passages which are found only in the quartos. All the passages omitted in the folios and a large proportion of the readings which Rowe incorporated from the quartos are also in the players' quartos of 1676 and 1703. Many of them are first met with in those editions, as will appear from the following selections, which have led me to conclude that Rowe collated a players' quarto, apparently that of 1676, more thoroughly than any other quarto or folio, except, of course, the fourth folio. The quarto of 1703 is the most carelessly printed of the editions that I have seen.

Not having access to the fifth and sixth quartos, I have relied upon *The Cambridge Shakespeare* (1892) for the readings from these two quartos. I have also followed that edition in the divisions into acts and scenes and in the numbering of the lines.

When no authority is given for the first reading, it is to be understood that it is derived from the

¹ Substantially the same statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Rowe, and also in *Shakespeareana*, 1885, vol. ii, p. 66.

² Cf. pp. 167-8.

quartos and folios not mentioned, and that all editors previous to the one mentioned as authority for the alteration also agree with the first reading. When the quartos from the second to the sixth inclusive and the quartos of 1676 and 1703 have the same reading, the quartos of 1676 and 1703 are not mentioned.

- I. I. 113 *palmy*] *flourishing* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 I. II. 37 *To business*] *Of Treaty* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 141 *might not beteeene* Qq. *might not beteeene* Ff (*beteeen* F 3, *between* F 4). *permitted not* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 I. IV. 5 *Indeed*; IQ 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *Indeed* IFf. *Indeed*, I Q 6. I Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 I. V. 20 *porpentine*] *Porcupine* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 33 *Lethe*] *Lethe's* Q 1676 Rowe. *Letha's* Q 1703.
 170 *so mere* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *so ere* Ff Q 6. *soe're* Q 1676. *so e'er* Q 1703 Rowe.
 II. II. 396 *writ*] *wit* Q 1676. *Wit* Q 1703 Rowe.
 414 *pious chanson*] Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *Pans Chanson* Ff (*Pons* F 1). *pans chanson* Q 6. *Rubrick* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 III. II. 150 *cart*] *Carr* Q 1676. *Cart* Q 1703. *Car* Rowe.
 245 *better*,] *worse* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 III. III. 38 *can I not*] *I cannot* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 88 *hent*] *bent* F 4. *time* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 III. IV. 83 *mutine*] *mutiny* Q 1676 Rowe.
 IV. IV. 24 *Yes, it is*] *Yes it is* Q 4. *Nay 'tis* Q 6. *Nay, 'tis* Q 1676 Rowe. *Nay it is* Q 1703. Not in Ff.
 30 *buy you* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *buy your* Q 6. *b' w' ye* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
 60 *imminent*] Q 6 Q 1676. *iminent* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *eminent* Q 1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
 IV. V. 102, 103 *The . . . shall be king*] *The . . . to be king* Q 6. *The . . . for our King* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe.
 IV. VII. 70 *organ*] *Instrument* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe (*i-* Q 1703). Not in Ff.
 77 *riband*] Q 4 Q 5 Q 6. *ribaud* Q 2 Q 3. *Feather* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
 115 *weeke* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *wicke* Q 6. *Wick* Q 1676. *wiek* Q 1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
 122 *spend thrifts sigh* Q 2 Q 3. *spend-thrifts sigh* Q 4 Q 5. *spend-thrift sigh* Q 6. *spend-thrift-sigh* Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe (*S-*). Not in Ff.
 161 *stuck*] *tucke* Q 6. *Tuck* Q 1676 Rowe. *tuck* Q 1703.
 V. II. 22 *goblines* Q 2 Q 3. *Goblins* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Ff Q 1703 Rowe (*g-* Q 4). *Goblins* Q 1676 Rowe (ed. 2).
 Cf. pp. 167-8.

Pope's text is based on Rowe's, and in all probability on Rowe's second edition, for he generally has the punctuation of the second edition rather than that of the first; and he has readings in his foot-notes and in his text which occur first

in Rowe's second edition (1714).⁴ But he followed the first and second folios in excluding the seven plays which were published in the last two folios and in Rowe's editions. These plays are at the end of the volume in the copies of the fourth folio that I have seen, not at the beginning, as the Cambridge editors say (p. xxix). In forming his text Pope used other editions besides Rowe's. I have noted that in the single play of *Hamlet*, while incorporating the passages restored from the quartos by Rowe, he added four others from the same source; and that he further followed the quartos in omitting thirteen⁵ passages which are in the folios and Rowe's editions. Only two of the passages which he omitted are noted at the foot of the page, though he says in his preface, "The various Readings are fairly put in the margin, so that every one may compare 'em; and those I have prefer'd into the Text are constantly *ex fide Codicum*, upon authority." He generally accepted

- ⁴ I. V. 150 *so ?*] Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Rowe. *so*, Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *so*. Ff. *so*; Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 159 *this that*] *this which* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 II. I. 49 *does . . . does* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *does . . . does* Ff Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703. *do's . . . do's* Rowe. *does . . . do's* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 II. II. 1, 33, 34 *Rosencraus* Qq. *Rosinérance* F 1. *Rosineros* F 2. *Rosincroza* F 3 F 4. *Rosencraus* Rowe. *Rosincrosse* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 379 *swadling* Qq. *swathing* Ff Rowe. *swathling* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 III. I. 2 *confusion*] *Confesion* Rowe (ed. 2). *confession* Pope's foot-note.
 119 *I loved you not.*] *I did love you once*. Rowe (ed. 2) and Pope's foot-note. *I lov'd you not*. Pope.
 III. II. 30 *nor the*] *or the* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 78 *his occulted*] *then his hidden* Q 1676 Q 1703. *his occult* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 271 *raz'd* Qq. *rac'd* Ff Rowe. *rack'd* Rowe (ed. 2). *rayed* Pope. *rack'd*, *rac'd* Pope's foot-note.
 272 *sir*. F 1 F 2 F 3. om. Qq. *Sir*. F 4 Rowe. *Sir?* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 IV. IV. 22 *sold*] *so* Rowe (ed. 2) and Pope's foot-note. Not in Ff.
 IV. V. 123 *thou art*] *art thou* F 3 F 4 Rowe. *are you* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 IV. VII. 99 *sight*] *fight* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 115 *wiek*] Rowe (ed. 2) Pope. *weeke* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *wicke* Q 6. *Wiek* Q 1676. *wiek* Q 1703 Rowe. Not in Ff.
 V. II. 221 *punish'd*] *punished* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
 257 *Prepare to play*. Ff Rowe (Play). om. Qq. *Prepares to play*. Rowe (ed. 2) Pope.
⁵ Cf. pp. 167-8.

⁵ Not in Ff means that more words than the word collated are omitted in Ff.

Rowe's changes, but drew upon the older editions for about three hundred readings differing from those in Rowe's text, and contributed a like number of readings of his own, adding and omitting arbitrarily. He believed that he could detect the interpolations, and ruthlessly struck out much that is undoubtedly Shakespeare's, while he too often forgot to note that he had made any change. In the play of *Hamlet* his notes of every sort are only about seventy, which certainly is far too few. Moreover, his notes are not always exact, cf. II. II. 414 *pious chanson*] Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *Pans Chanson* Ff (*Pons* F 1). *pans chanson* Q 6. *It is Pons chansons in the first folio edition.* (Pope's foot-note). III. I. 118 *inoculate*] Rowe. *euocut* Q 2 Q 3. *evacuat* Q 4. *evacuate* Q 5. *innoculate* F 1. *inoculate* F 2 F 3. *evacuate* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703. *inocualte* F 4. *innoculate* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope. *evacuate in the first edition.* (Pope's foot-note.) And yet, notwithstanding the paucity and inferiority of his notes, Pope's is the first critical edition.

In his notes Pope has some readings from the quartos and first folio which do not appear in Rowe's editions; but the larger number of his notes I believe to be based on Rowe's text, notwithstanding the fact that many agree with the folios. In these notes Pope sometimes cites "the first edition" or "the old edition," by which he he does not mean the first quarto as we know it, but later quartos. I do not doubt that he saw a second or a third quarto, but, judging from the readings given below, I have concluded that he referred more frequently to still later quartos than to these.

- I. I. 55 *on't*] of it Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
 I. II. 204 *distill'd*] Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *distill'd* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4. *bestill'd* F 1. *bestill'd* F 2. *be still'd* F 3 F 4. *be-still'd* Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 I. III. 133 *moment*] Q 2 Q 3 Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *moments* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703. *moment's* Pope.
 II. I. 4 *to make inquire*] Qq. *you make inquiry* Ff. *to make inquiry* Q 1676 Pope. *to make enquiry* Q 1703. *make you Inquiry* Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 II. II. 418 *valancet* Q 2 Q 3. *valanc'd* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *valiant* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 484 *Marses Armor* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *Mars his Armours* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *Mars his Armour* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (*a-* Q 6 Pope).
 III. I. 77 *grunt*] *groan* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
life,] *life?* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *Life,* Rowe (ed. 1, 2).

- 118 *inoculate*] Rowe. *euocut* Q 2 Q 3. *evacuat* Q 4. *evacuate* Q 5. *innoculate* F 1. *inoculate* F 2 F 3. *evacuate* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703. *inocualte* F 4. *innoculate* Rowe (ed. 2) Pope. *evacuate in the first edition.* (Pope's foot-note).
 III. II. 185 *fruit*] *fruits* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
 271 *cry*] *city* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Pope (ed. 2). *City* Q 1676 Q 1703.
 369, 370 *a weasel . . . a weasel*] *an Ouzle . . . an Ouzle* Pope. *An Ouzle or Blackbird: it has been printed by mistake a Weesel, which is not black.* (Pope's foot-note.)
 370 *backt* Q 2 Q 3. *black* Q 4 Q 5 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *back'd* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *blacke* Q 6.
 III. III. 6 *neer's* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *dangerous* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *neare us* Q 6. *near us* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
 III. IV. 122 *an end*] Qq Ff Q 1703 Rowe (ed. 1, 2) Pope. *on end* Q 1676 Pope (ed. 2).
 206 *enginer*] Qq. *Engineer* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (*e-*). *Not in* Ff or Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 IV. VI. 22 *bore of the*] Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *bord of the* Qq. *om.* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
 27 *make*] Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *om.* Q 2 Q 3. *give* F 1. *give* F 2 F 3 F 4 Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 IV. VII. 62 *checking at*] Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *the King at* Q 2 Q 3. *liking not* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
 140 *that*] Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *om.* Q 2 Q 3. *the* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
 V. I. 88 *fine*] *a fine* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (ed. 2).
 174 *a Qq* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *he* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope.
 V. II. 264 *union*] Ff. *Vnice* Q 2. *Onixe* Q 3 Q 4. *Onix* Q 5. *Onyx* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope. *Union* Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 269 *heaven to*] Q 2 Q 3 Ff. *heavens to* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 (*H-* Q 1676 Q 1703). *Heav'n* to Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *heav'ns* to Pope.
 345 *o'er-crows*] *ore-groves* Q 4 Q 5 Q 6. *o'r-grows* Q 1676. *o'regrows* Q 1703. *o'er-grows* Pope.
 357 *thine eternal*] *thine infernall* Q 6. *thine infernal* Q 1676 Q 1703. *In another edition infernal.* (Pope's foot-note in ed. 2).
 379 *noblest*] *Noblest* Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *Nobless* Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (ed. 2).
 Cf. pp. 167-8.

Though Pope made some happy conjectures, no one can forget that he was more daring than any other editor in tampering with the text, and that too, when his preface proves him to have been thoroughly conversant with the duties of an editor. Indeed, he never scruples to alter a word, or omit or add one or more words for the sake of the scansion. For such liberties he has been severely censured. Malone, not without some reason, considered that the editor of the second folio, "whoever he was, and Mr. Pope were the two great corruptors of our poet's text."

Pope's second edition (1728) is based upon his first. He introduced some new readings into the

text, and added a few new foot-notes and, occasionally, a new idea to a former foot-note. He adopted some of the readings suggested by Theobald, in all, according to his own statement, "about twenty five Words." This number is not large enough. Of the readings given below he mentioned very few, though he professed to have "annexed a compleat List."⁶ In none of his foot-notes to *Hamlet* does Theobald's name appear.⁷

Theobald's first edition was issued in 1733. He had the temerity to criticise not only Pope's translation of Homer, but also his edition of Shakespeare. For such offences Pope made him the hero of the *Dunciad* and this is the portrait by which Theobald was for a long time generally known. The friends of the two men took up the quarrel, and Theobald was handled most unjustly and severely. His assailants ridiculed his taste, charged him with ingratitude, and sneered at his poverty, his pedantry, and his painstaking. Whatever may be said of these charges, he made many emendations of Shakespeare's text that merely plodding mediocrity could not have produced; and by his painstaking he became the first great commentator of that author. Though he received scant honor at the hands of the critics, his edition became so popular that it was reissued many times.

Theobald used Pope's second edition⁸ as a basis for his text, and unfortunately was too greatly influenced by it. He collated the old copies more carefully than had been done before, and restored passages omitted by Rowe and Pope, so that his

was the most complete edition up to that time. He numbered each act, but not one scene, from the beginning to the end of the seven volumes, is numbered. He has many notes at the foot of the pages, but they are not always to be trusted; for example, *Hamlet*, II. I. 79, he says: "I have restor'd the Reading of the Elder Quarto's,—his *Stockings* loose.—" etc. But *loose* occurs first in Q 1676, all the preceding copies having *fouled* or *foul'd*. He cites readings from the quartos of 1605 and 1611 and from the first and second folios, and thus we know that he had access to these copies, which are also in his list of authors collated.

Throughout the play of *Hamlet* I have noticed no apostrophe denoting possession in the second, third or fourth quartos, or in the second folio. It is extremely rare in the first folio; but in the third and fourth folios and in the quarto of 1676 the growing use of this apostrophe is apparent, and in the quarto of 1703 it occurs still more frequently. Rowe, Pope, and Theobald were even more thorough, and thereafter there remained very little in this line to be done by editors.

The following table notes the passages which are wanting in either the quartos or the folios. It also shows the use which Rowe, Pope, and Theobald made of these passages in the preparation of their editions. In the notation here used Qq includes Q 1676 and Q 1703; Ff stands for the folios; + indicates *present*; — indicates *absent*. The indented lines are those which are omitted in the quartos; the others are omitted in the folios. In the following list I have used the first and second editions of Rowe, Pope, and Theobald.

- ⁶Cf. Pope (ed. 2), vol. 8.
⁷Cf. below, I. v., 32, 33, 54, etc. In these readings (Theobald) means that the reading was Theobald's conjecture.
⁸I. III. 130 *bonds*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). *bonds* Qq Ff Q 1703 Pope. *Bonds* Q 1676 Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 I. IV. 17, 18 *revel east and west Makes*] Pointed as in Qq. *revel, east and west; Makes* Pope. *revel, east and west, Makes* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). Not in Ff or Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 32 *star*] *starre* Qq. *scar* Pope, ed. 2* (Theobald). Not in Ff or Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 33 *Their*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). *His* Qq Pope. Not in Ff or Rowe (ed. 1, 2).
 54 *we*] *us* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald).
 I. V. 178 *to note*] *denote* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald).
 II. II. 233 *her*] *in her* Pope (ed. 2) Theobald.
 347 *succession?*] Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). *Succession*. Ff Rowe (ed. 1, 2) Pope (s-). Not in Qq.
 *pp. 167-8.

- 349⁹ *them*] *them on* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald). Not in Qq.
 435 *were no sallets*] Qq. *was no sallets* Ff Rowe, ed. 1, 2 (S-). *was no salts* Pope. *was no salt* Pope (ed. 2) Theobald.
 584 *About my braines*; Q 2 Q 3. *About my braines*, Q 4 Q 5 Q 6. *About my Braine*. Ff (*brain*. F 3 F 4). *About my brains*, Q 1676 Q 1703. *About my Brain*. Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *about my brain*- Pope. *about my brain!*- Pope (ed. 2). *about, my brain!*- Theobald.
 III. II. 238 *king*] *duke* Pope, ed. 2 (Theobald).
 IV. V. 33 *Ophelia*,—] *Ophelia*. Qq Ff. *Ophelia*- Pope (ed. 2) Theobald. *Ophelia*.- Rowe (ed. 1, 2) Pope.
 V. I. 67 *in him*] *to him* Pope (ed. 2) Theobald.
 V. II. 318 *thy union*] Ff. *the Onize* Q 2 Q 3 Q 4 Q 5. *the Onyx* Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703 Pope (o-). *thy Union* Rowe (ed. 1, 2). *the union* Pope's foot-note. *the Union* Theobald.

⁹346 by mistake in *The Cambridge Shakespeare* (1892).

	Qq.	Ff.	Rowe.	Pope.	Theobald.
I. I. 108-125 Ber. <i>I think . . . countrymen.</i>	+	—	+	+	+
I. II. 58-60 <i>wrung . . . consent.</i>	+	—	+	+	+
I. III. 18 <i>For he . . . birth :</i>	—	+	+	+	+
I. IV. 17-38 <i>This . . . scandal.</i>	+	—	—	— ¹⁰	+
I. IV. 75-78 <i>The very . . . beneath.</i>	+	—	—	+	+
II. I. 52 <i>at friend . . . gentleman.</i>	—	+	+	—	—
II. I. 120 <i>Come.</i>	+	—	—	—	—
II. II. 17 <i>Whether . . . thus,</i>	+	—	+	+	+
II. II. 210, 211 <i>and suddenly . . . him</i>	—	+	+	+	+
II. II. 238-268 <i>Let me . . . attended.</i>	—	+	+	+	+
II. II. 321, 322 <i>the clown . . . sere,</i>	—	+	+	—	—
II. II. 333-358 Ham. <i>How . . . load too.</i>	—	+	+	+	+
II. II. 438, 439 <i>as wholesome . . . fine.</i>	+	—	—	—	—
II. II. 459 <i>So, proceed you.</i>	+	—	—	—	—
II. II. 498 <i>mobled . . . good.</i>	—	+	+	+	+
III. II. 110, 111 Ham. <i>I mean . . . lord.</i>	—	+	+	—	+
III. II. 162 <i>women . . . love, And</i>	+	—	—	—	+
III. II. 166, 167 <i>Where love . . . there.</i>	+	—	—	—	+
III. II. 213, 214 <i>To desperation . . . scope !</i>	+	—	—	—	+
III. II. 260 Ham. <i>What, . . . fire !</i>	—	+	+	—	+
III. IV. 5 Ham. . . . <i>mother !</i>	—	+	+	—	+
III. IV. 71-76 <i>Sense . . . difference.</i>	+	—	—	—	+
III. IV. 78-81 <i>Eyes . . . mope.</i>	+	—	—	—	+
III. IV. 161-165 <i>That . . . put on.</i>	+	—	+	+	+
III. IV. 167-170 <i>the next . . . potency.</i>	+	—	+	+	+
III. IV. 180 <i>One word . . . lady.</i>	+	—	—	—	—
III. IV. 202-210 Ham. <i>There's letters . . . meet.</i>	+	—	—	+	+
IV. I. 4 <i>Bestow . . . while.</i>	+	—	—	—	+
IV. I. 40-44 <i>Whose whisper . . . air.</i>	+	—	—	—	+
IV. II. 2 Ros. Guil. [Within] . . . <i>Hamlet !</i>	—	+	+	+	+
IV. II. 29, 30 <i>Hide fox . . . after.</i>	—	+	+	+	+
IV. III. 26-28 King. <i>Alas, . . . that worm.</i>	+	—	—	+	+
IV. IV. 9-66 Ham. <i>Good . . . worth !</i>	+	—	+	+	+
IV. V. 62 <i>He answers.</i>	+	—	—	—	—
IV. V. 93 Queen. <i>Alack, . . . this ?</i>	—	+	+	—	+
IV. V. 158-160 <i>Nature . . . loves.</i>	—	+	+	+	+
IV. V. 162 <i>Hey non . . . nonny ;</i>	—	+	+	—	—
IV. V. 196 <i>I pray God.</i>	—	+	+	—	—
IV. VII. 36 <i>How now ! . . . news ?</i>	—	+	+	—	+
IV. VII. 36 <i>Letters . . . Hamlet :</i>	—	+	+	—	+
IV. VII. 41 <i>Of him . . . them.</i>	+	—	—	—	—
IV. VII. 68-81 Laer. <i>My lord . . . graveness.</i>	+	—	+	+	+
IV. VII. 100-102 <i>the scrimers . . . opposed them.</i>	+	—	—	—	+
IV. VII. 114-123 <i>There lives . . . ulcer :</i>	+	—	+	+	+
IV. VII. 162 <i>But stay, . . . noise ?</i>	+	—	—	—	—
IV. VII. 163 <i>How . . . queen !</i>	—	+	+	+	+
V. I. 34-37 Sec. Clo. <i>Why, he . . . arms ?</i>	—	+	+	+	+
V. I. 102, 103 <i>is this . . . recoveries,</i>	—	+	+	+	+
V. I. 117 <i>For such . . . meet.</i>	—	+	+	+	+
V. I. 179 <i>Let me see.</i>	—	+	+	—	—
V. I. 269 <i>woo't fast ?</i>	+	—	—	+	+
V. II. 57 <i>Why . . . employment ;</i>	—	+	+	—	+
V. II. 68-80 <i>To quit . . . here ?</i>	—	+	+	+	+
V. II. 106-135 <i>here is newly . . . sir ?</i> Osr.	+	—	—	—	+
V. II. 137-141 Ham. <i>I dare . . . unfellowed.</i>	+	—	—	—	+

¹⁰Pope put lines 17-36 *This . . . fault.* in the margin and omitted lines 37 and 38.

	Qq.	Ff.	Rowe.	Pope.	Theobald.
v. II. 152, 153 Hor. <i>I knew . . . done.</i>	+	—	—	—	+
v. II. 189-200 Enter . . . instructs me.	+	—	+	+	+
v. II. 216 <i>Let be.</i>	+	—	—	—	—
v. II. 232 <i>Sir, . . . audience,</i>	—	+	+	—	—
v. II. 246 <i>Come on.</i>	—	+	+	—	—
v. II. 278 Laer. <i>A touch, a touch,</i>	—	+	+	+	+
	Q 2 Q 3 { Q 4 Q 5 Q 6 Q 1676 Q 1703				
I. I. 43 Ber. <i>Looks . . . Horatio.</i>	+	—	+	+	+
I. V. 117 Hor. <i>What . . . lord?</i>	+	—	+	+	+
II. II. 32 <i>To be commanded.</i>	+	—	+	—	—
II. II. 406-408 Pol. <i>If . . . follows not.</i>	+	—	+	+	+
III. IV. 101 Queen. <i>No more!</i>	+	—	+	— ¹¹	+
II. II. 164 <i>And . . . thereon omitted in Q 6; present in the other editions above mentioned.</i>					

¹¹ Pope (l. 102) omitted Ham. also.

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CHARMS FOR THIEVES.

B. M. ms. Arundel 36,674, fol. 89.

Disparib⁸ meritis pendent tria corpora ramis
 Dismas & Gesmas medio divina potestas
 Alta petit Dismas,¹ infelix infima Gesmas
 Haec versus di[s]cas ne furto ne tua perdas.

Jesus autem transiens p medium illorum ibat, irruat super eos formido & pauor in magnitudine, brachii tui, fiant immobilæ quasi lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus quem possedisti + Christu vincit + Christus regnat + Christus imperat + Christus hunc locum & famulum tuum ab omni malo protegat & defendat. Amen & dic Euangelistum S. Joannis et pater nosters 5. Aves 3. Creed.

B. M. ms. 2584, fol. 73b.

Pro larronibus & inimicis meis (on margin, in later hand *Contra latrones*).

¹ For the history of the two thieves, Dismas and Gismas (or Gesmas) who were crucified, the one on the right, the other on the left of our Saviour, see the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, chap. 23; Cowper's *Apoeryphal Gospels*, London, 1867, p. 190. Here the names are given as Titus and Dumachus. On their flight into Egypt, the Holy Family are beset by robbers in a lonely place in the desert. Titus, moved with compassion, wishes to let them pass in peace, offers Dumachus forty drachmas, and holds out his girdle as a pledge. The infant Christ then prophesies that after thirty years these two thieves shall be crucified with him, Titus at his right hand and Dumachus at his left, and that Titus shall go before him into paradise. In

Disparibus meritis pendent tria corpora ramis²
 Dismas & Gesmas medio divina potestas
 Alta petit dismas, infelix ad infima gesmas
 Nos & res nostras servet divina potestas.

Stande ȝe stille in p^e name of p^e trinite & for p^e passion of ihn crist & for his dep & for his uparyse p^t ȝe stille stonde til ich hyde ȝou go. Tune dicatur v pater nosters & v Aves iii (+).

God þ^t was y bore in bethleem³
 & baptized in flum jordan
 þer inne was no þef
 but god him self þat was ful lef
 god & seint trinite saue alle þings þ^t is me lef
 wiþinne þis hous & w^toute
 & alle þe way aboute. I be teche god to day & to nyȝt & to seint feyþfolde þat he kepe vs & oure hom from alle maner of wyckede nemys be þe grace & by þe power of oure lady seynte marie.

the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, I, chap. 10, the penitent thief is called Dysmas, the name of the other not being given. Later on in this same gospel, however, pt. II, chap. 10, the names of both are given as Dysmas and Gistas. In the *Story of Joseph of Arimathea*, chap. 3, the names appear as Demas and Gestas. See further *La Légende Dorée* (Wyzewa), Paris, 1902, p. 198; and Longfellow's version of the incident in his *Golden Legend*. In Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, London, 1900, p. 198, St. Dismas is mentioned as the patron saint of thieves.

² In the ms. the whole is printed continuously as prose.

³ This Jordan charm was originally used only for staunching blood, (Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen, Palestina*, xxiv, 34), but was later extended to thieves, fire, snakes, and other such objects or elements whose course might be stopped by the virtue of the words.

jif any þeues hider take⁴
 þ^t þei stande stille as any stake
 as euer þer was any y bounde
 & as euer was þe mulston. Ihn of nazaret kyng of
 jewys be w^t us now & euer. Amen.

Ms. Bibl. Bodl. Ashm. 1378, fol. 61-62,
 (beg. xvi cent.).
 fol. 61 :

+ As y^u lord dyddest stope & staye⁵
 for thy chosen po^epell the red sea,
 + the ragyng see waves lacking ther course
 tyll they had passed pharros forse ;
 and as at Josue his Invocation
 y^e son abode over gabaon,
 the mone abode & made hir staye
 in aialon that valleie ;
 & as thy sone Jesus did appease
 the wynd & see & made them sease,
 when his disciples w^t fearefull spryte
 from his shape ded hym excyte ;
 So lorde of hosts staye eche one
 of those that seake my confusyon ;
 make them stonde
 as styll as stone,
 w^t owt corporall moving,
 Vntyll my stretched
 arme shall make
 a syne to them
 ther way to take
 As moyses stretched
 the Red sea moved
 to show his course
 as be hoved
 As thou lord arte
 the king of blesse
 lord messyas
 grante me this
 then saye
 Dismas et gismas medioque devina potestas
 Summa petit dismas
 Infelix ad Infima
 Gismas
 nos et res nostras
 Salvat devina
 potestas.
 finis

fol. 62 (also fol. 77, margin).

Dismas et gismas medioque⁶
 devina potestas

⁴On margin in later hand is written *þe wey*, showing ignorance of the meaning of the word *take*, "betake themselves."

⁵A mutilated copy of this charm appears in Bibl. Bodl. Douce MS. 116, fol. 1.

⁶See also Bibl. Bodl. Rawlinson MS. C. 814, fol. 3.

Summa petit dismas
 Infelix ad Infima Gismas
 nos et res nostras
 Salvat divina potestas. finis.

B. M. MS. Addit. 36,674, fol. 89, xvii cent.

This charme shall be said at night or against
 night about y^e place or feild or about beasts
 without feild, & whosoever cometh in, he goeth
 not out for certaine.

On 3 crosses of a tree⁷
 3 dead bodyes did hang,
 2 were theeves, y^e 3d was Christus,
 on whom our beleife is ;
 Dismas & Gesmas
 Christus amidst them was ;
 Dismas to heauen went,
 Gesmas to heauen [hell] was sent.
 Christ y^t died on y^t roode,
 for Maries loue that by him stood,
 & through the vertue of his blood,
 Jesus save vs & our good,
 within & without,
 & all this place about,
 & through the vertue of his might,
 lett no theefe enter in this night,
 nor foote further fro
 this place that I upon goe,
 but at my bidding there be bound to do
 all things that I bid them do,
 starke be their sinewes therewith,
 & their lims mightless,
 & their eyes sightless,
 dread & doubt
 en[v]elope about ;
 as a wall wrought of stone,
 so be the crampe in the tone,
 crampe & crookeing
 & fault in their footing,
 the might of the Trinity,
 haue those goods & me,
 In y^e name of Jesus, holy benedicite
 all about our goods bee,
 within & without,
 & all place about,
 then say 5 pater nosters 5 aves, & 1 creed in
 honorem 5 plagarum Christi & 12 Apostolorum.

Bibl. Bodl. Ashm. MS. 1447, fol. 34b (xv
 cent.).

A carme for þeveyes⁸

⁷In the MS. there is no division into lines, but all is written as prose.

⁸This charm appears also in Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Dd. VI 29, fol. 78b. See note 3, above.

Yn bedlyeme God was borne bytwene to bests he was layd
yn that place wasse never þeffe no man but the holy gost⁹
trenytte þ^t ylke selve god þ^t ther was borne defend your
bodye & housse & dwell⁹ fro thevys and al maner mys-
chevys & harmys wher so ever we wyend be land or by
wat^r by night or by day by tyde or by tyme. Amen
purchryte.

Bibl. Bodl. e Mus. 243, fol. 34.

Theeves to wthstande.

In Bethlehem god was borne, between 2 beastes to rest he
was layd in y^t sted ther was no man but y^e holy trinite,
the same god y^t ther was borne defende our bodies & our
cattell from theves & all maner of mischeeves & harmes
whersoever we wend ether by water or by land by night
or by day.

Amen/

God was iborn in bedlem
Iborin he was to ierusalem
Ifolewid (= ifulwed) in þe flum iordan
þer nes innemed ne wulf ne þef.

Ashburnham ms. of 12th cent.

See R. Priebisch, *Academy*, May 23, 1896, 428.

Bibl. Bodl. ms. e Mus. 243 fol. 36 (XVII
cent.)

Another night spell [red ink].

In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Amen.

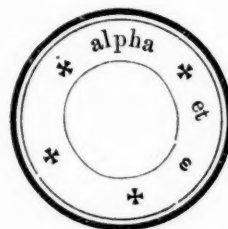
I beseeche y^e holy ghost this place y^t heare is sett,¹⁰
wth y^e father & y^e sonne theeves for to lett,
yf there come any theeves any of thes goods away to fett,
y^e trinite be the^r before & doe them lett,
& make them heare to abyde till I agayne come,
through the vertue of y^e holy ghost, y^e father & y^e sonne
Now betyde what will betyde
through the vertue of all y^e saints heare you shall abyde,
& by y^e vertue of mathewe mark luke & John,
y^e 4 Evangelists accordinge all in one,
y^t you theeves be bounde all so sore
as St. Bartholomewe bounde the devell wth y^e heare of his
heade so hore

Theeves, theeves, theeves, stande you still & here remain
till to morowe y^t I come agayne
& bid you be gone in god or the devells name,
& come no more here for doubt or for further blame/
then say In principio erat verbum, etc.

Bibl. Bodl. ms. Ashm. 1378, fol. 60.

⁹ Erased in ms.

¹⁰ In the ms. there is no division into lines, but all is
written as prose. A fragment of this same charm appears
in Bibl. Bodl. ms. Ashm. 1378, fol. 77; see also Bibl.
Bodl. Douce ms. 116, 103.



Here I ame and fourthe I moste
& in Ihus Criste is all my trust
no wicked thing do me no dare
nother here nor elles whare
the father w^t me the sonne w^t the
the holly goste & the trinite
be bytwyxt my gostlely enemies & me
In the name of the father & the sonne
And the holly goste. Amen

Amen



Bibl. Bodl. ms. Ashm. 1378, fol. 73.

To binde a house
a gaynste theffes

Sainte wynwall and sainte braston and sainte tobas¹¹
and sonne that shineth so bright
in heuen [s]on highe
he fetched his light
in the daye and nyght
to dystroy all poyson w^t his beames so bright.

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THE USE OF CONTRASTS IN SUDERMANN'S PLAYS.

Allusions made by Bulthaupt, Friedmann, Kawerau, Landsberg, Heilborn,¹ and others, to contrasts in Sudermann's plays attracted my attention to this subject, and I venture to present here a part of the results of a renewed survey of the field made with the intention of closely observ-

¹¹ In the ms. written as prose.

¹ H. Bulthaupt, *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels*. Band iv, Oldenburg, 1901. S. Friedmann, *Das deutsche Drama des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. 2. Auflage, Leipzig, 1904, Band II. W. Kawerau, *H. Sudermann*, 2. Auflage, Leipzig, 1899. H. Landsberg, *Moderne Essays zur Kunst u. Lit. Sudermann*, Berlin, 1901. E. Heilborn, Reviews of Sudermann's plays in *Die Nation*, Berlin.

ing this detail of Sudermann's workmanship. I entertain the hope that a record of my study may aid those who are seeking signs of increase or decline in the artificiality of Sudermann's work, and that it may prove interesting to those who are watching the development of his dramaturgic art.

To some it might seem that such a task were one of supererogation, for, from the time of Sophocles down to the present day, dramatists have consciously or unconsciously followed the dictates of their artistic sense and have sought to increase the effectiveness of their productions by presenting variety in the personalities that move before us, and by appealing to the varied emotions that stir the human heart. "Diversity in unity" was long ago regarded as one of the essentials of beauty; and "it is a secret law of all artistic creation that the subject invented calls for its contrast, the chief character, for an opposing player, one scenic effect, for another quite different. The Germanic races, in particular, feel the need of carefully infusing into all their creations a certain totality of feeling."²

Every reader will judge for himself and will draw the lines to suit his taste in marking off the boundaries of what is natural and what is affected; but I do not seriously doubt that after reading again some of Sudermann's plays, it will be felt that the author's eyes were always searching for antitheses, perhaps I ought to say for contrasts, and that now and then his method is decidedly too plain, that, in some instances, the charge of artificiality so frequently brought against him is somewhat justifiable.

In his first play, *Die Ehre* (1889), that brought Sudermann immediate and unquestioned renown as a playwright, antithesis is abundant. In fact, it has been said that the play probably owed its decisive success to the force and sharpness with which social contrasts were presented.³

The rich, and, in their own estimation, for the most part, righteous family of Mühlingks in the manor house (*Vorderhaus*), the poor, depraved and vulgar family in the tenement (*Hinterhaus*), furnish at once two scenes of action and two sets of characters as different as possible. They are

brought before us with the precision of alternation: first act, *Hinterhaus*; second act, *Vorderhaus*; third act, *Hinterhaus*; fourth act, *Vorderhaus*. In the *Vorderhaus* there are husband and wife, son and daughter; in the *Hinterhaus* there is practically the same thing. On both sides the husband and wife are about on a plane of morality; one child is good, the other is bad; in the *Vorderhaus* the daughter is good, the son is bad; in the *Hinterhaus* the son is good, the daughter is bad.

Graf Trast, a rich aristocrat returns after years of absence to find himself wholly out of touch and sympathy with the ideas of honor among his own class of people; Robert Heinecke, the plebeian, returns to find himself after years of absence wholly at variance with the notions of decency such as his family entertain. Indeed, when one stops to think, one has before one what *looks* like contrasts carefully calculated and balanced.

Much might be said in detail as to the contrasts presented by *Vorderhaus* and *Hinterhaus* regarding manners, morality, and ideas of what constitutes honorable behavior, as to the contrasting personalities of Alma Heinecke and Lenore Mühlingk, of Robert Heinecke and Curt Mühlingk, as to Lenore, the counter of her family, the Mühlingks; as to Robert and his own family, the Heineckes; but it is all quite evident, and I shall dwell no longer on this play. Most of these particulars have been spoken of incidentally by Hanstein, Landsberg, Friedmann and others. As might naturally be expected in the incipient stages of dramatic activity, indications of artificiality are somewhat plainer, the marks of crafty workmanship are not sufficiently concealed, and when the light of criticism is turned on, the conscious effort to set polarities before us, is noticeable. This is intentional, of course, in the matter of social distinctions and as to what constitutes ideals of honor in different spheres of life; but it is perhaps not intended to be so conspicuous in other component parts of the play.

"*Sodoms Ende* (1891), bears the same relation," says Landsberg (p. 50), "to *Die Ehre* as a painting in which the colors pass imperceptibly into one another bears to a harsh engraving which has been made with the special intent of emphasizing contrasts." On closer investigation, the

² Gustav Freytag, *Technik des Dramas*. 7. Auflage, Leipzig, 1894, p. 72.

³ Friedmann, II, 333.

contrasts presented in *Sodoms Ende* come out almost as clearly as in *Die Ehre*, and I do not think that Landsberg goes quite far enough in his comparison. *Sodoms Ende* is replete with contrasts, though they may be less noticeably juxtaposed than in *Die Ehre*, and the shading a trifle less abrupt. Instead of pitting against each other two different castes in society, such as *Vorderhaus* and *Hinterhaus* in *Die Ehre*, we are now confronted with two utterly distinct and antagonistic phases of a single caste, that of the upper middle class. The first act introduces the smart, witty circle of shallow, immoral social butterflies that swarm in the pestilential atmosphere of the luxurious residence owned by Adah Barczinowsky, who is a sort of spiritualized Messalina, the adulteress immediately responsible for the utter decay of Willy Janikow's genius and morality. Here we face a shocking set that puts a premium on mock witticism and contempt for all that is accounted pure and good. But what a different spectacle confronts us in the second act when the lifting of the curtain reveals the plain surroundings of the humble abode of Janikow's parents, who have previously suffered financial shipwreck and are now eking out a scant existence, sacrificing self and all but honor in order that their talented but "invertebrate" son may meet his social obligations. The pitiful and unselfish mother, who, in addition to all her drudgery, keeps a pension and gives private lessons, the somewhat blunted old father who gets up at four o'clock on cold winter mornings to attend to his duties as an overseer, Willy Janikow's faithful friend, Kramer, who has squandered his little means on Willy and now shares with him the paltry pittance secured by tutoring, and Klärchen, the intended bride of Kramer, whose only thought is of others,—thus the picture of a world of immorality, of wealth, of cynicism, of wit, of selfishness is shut out from our vision and in its stead comes one of love, of duty, of devotion, of self-sacrifice. This scene is continued through the third act, but, in the fourth, we are brought back again to the surroundings of the first act. A brilliant ball is going on to heighten the effect. No greater difference could well be devised. The curtain sinks at the close of the third act on a darkened and deserted stage. Willy Janikow, in a state of half

intoxication and nervous derangement, has just sneaked into Klärchen's bed-chamber, and while he is enacting a brutal crime at the silent hour of late night, the almost inaudible tones of Kramer's voice are heard repeating the lines of a speech he is laboriously learning to deliver the next evening, proclaiming in exalted praise Willy Janikow's greatness and genius. The sublimity of Kramer's devotion on the one hand, and the beastly, unspeakable ingratitude of Willy Janikow on the other, stir us profoundly by their tragic contrast in the awe-inspiring stillness and darkness of the night; and when the curtain rises on the next scene of capricious and lavish elegance in Adah Barczinowsky's salon while, through the half-opened portières at the rear we catch glimpses of the flitting feet of brilliant dancers in a blaze of light, keeping step to joyous strains of music intermingled with merry peals of laughter, it is undeniable that colors as distinct and different as possible have been juxtaposed in this appalling picture.

There are three prominent personages in Adah's world,—herself, her ward and niece, Kitty, whom she will marry to Willy Janikow in order to keep him in her net, and Dr. Weisse, the *raisonneur*. These three are genuine contrasts to three others that we find at Janikow's, Mrs. Janikow, Klärchen and Riemann. Willy Janikow stands alone in that he is the embodiment of characteristics the opposites of which are found in his two friends, Riemann and Kramer. He is such a contemptible weakling that to call him the hero of the play might be misleading. This spoiled and degenerate son, who squanders the hard-earned money of his impoverished parents and of his self-sacrificing friend, Kramer, rewards the latter by seducing his (Kramer's) fiancée, his own foster-sister, defenceless Klärchen. He is so basely ungrateful, so lascivious and so remorseless, so unmindful of duty and morality, that one's heart sickens with disgust at him. His lack of purpose and energy contrasts most sharply with the indefatigable probity of his artist friend, Riemann, and his immeasurable selfishness, with the supreme self-effacement of Kramer. Thus all the prominent characters are provided with the contrasting background that Sudermann feels they need.

The social contrasts of *Die Ehre* and *Heimat*

bear a certain resemblance and yet are quite different. In the former, the rich young son, after years of absence spent in luxury and refinement during which he has become a polished man of the world, returns to a family that is and has been sunk too deep in corruption and coarseness ever to be elevated therefrom and he must finally repudiate them with a sense of intense relief. In *Heimat* (1891) it is the daughter who after years of adventure has become a great prima donna and comes back to find herself utterly beyond accord with the strict and straight-laced ideas of morality and propriety entertained by her father and his friends. Her flight would have been just as inevitable, too, had not a stroke of apoplexy removed the inexorable old man just soon enough to prevent a tragedy or her departure.

"Two worlds are again contrasted,—the conservatism of old times, and the fermentation of the new, the conventions of provincial morality and the looseness of the metropolis, the traditional spirit of caste in a pious military circle and the impetuous desire for freedom and life in an artistic personality." (Landsberg, p. 51.) The conflict is very severe; the "altruistic morality of old time family life defends itself with the savage fierceness of a lawful owner vindicating his rights."

Magda, who when a young girl of seventeen years, was driven from home and finally disowned by her father because of her refusal to marry young Pastor Heffterdingk, has fought desperately and gained for herself a splendid position of renown and independence in the great world of art outside: "das Leben im grossen Stil, Betätigung aller Kräfte, Auskosten aller Schuld, was In-die-Höhe-kommen und Geniessen heisst." She has obeyed none but herself and has developed her personality to the utmost. She is a representative of individualism, of the right to live for one's self: "Ich bin ich und durch mich selbst geworden was ich bin." But her aged father, Colonel Schwartz a. D. represents the strict old moral code, "die gute, alte, sozusagen familienhafte Gesittung." His house and family are absolutely governed by his inexorable will that is always determined by strict observance of duty as he sees it. He is proud of his soldierly sternness, and believes that his old regiment still trembles

when it thinks of him. He has become, as he imagines, a dauntless defender of altruism.

Pastor Heffterdingk is the possessor of a noble and lofty soul, and to him alone is due the little sweetness and charm infused into the gloom that has settled about old Colonel Schwartz. He teaches self-sacrifice, obedience to authority, love; and his example is a justification of the Christian principles he imparts. His evangelic simplicity and his deep insight into the workings of the human heart form a fitting relief for Magda's inconsiderate frankness and candor, for her individualism and love of liberty. These two figures in opposing worlds of ideals have been likened to "Christ and Nietzsche's Antichrist."⁴ As a contrast, too, to the fierce, domineering self-assertive figure of Magda, the sweet, submissive, self-effacing sister, Maria, fills in the circle of those who by their diametric difference furnish all the shades needful in the picture to set off the brilliance of Magda, the wayward artist. For purposes of illustration, passages might be quoted from scenes in which Magda is opposed to her father and the ladies of the committee on the one hand, and on the other, where she meets her former lover, Pastor Heffterdingk. Contrasts in personality and ideals could not be more emphatically marked and they pervade the play from its beginning to its end.

The three one-act plays entitled *Morituri*, of the year 1897, are more conspicuous for contrasts when compared with one another. They represent the conduct of those who are doomed to die but under circumstances totally dissimilar, and in utterly different spheres of life.

Teja is a historical personage of the sixth century, he is in the midst of historical setting, his death is to result from circumstances that reflect nothing but honor on him, he will die a soldier's death, since his little band of Goths is hopelessly encompassed by the Romans and Byzantines. Fritzchen, on the other hand, is modern to the last degree, and he dies a disgraceful death, the result of extraordinary folly. He is a man who faces an end that is in his opinion the only escape from intolerable shame. In *Teja* almost the whole of a historical race perishes, in *Fritzchen* only one

⁴ See Friedmann, pp. 344-349.

man, the victim of sin, but not a hero. The mockery and play of *Das Ewig-Männliche* furnishes an enlivening contrast to the two painful tragedies that precede it, a sort of satyr-play as of old, and, as has been said, somewhat like the clown of the Shakespearean plays, to relieve the strain put upon the nerves by relentless tragedy.

In the last scenes of *Teja* we behold the grim, relentless warrior, whose hands have been stained with the blood of cruel discipline, into whose life no gleam of sunshine has ever come before, romping gleefully with his bonny bride on the very brink of destruction.

In regard to *Fritzchen*, Friedmann (p. 360) remarks that instead of the heroic and antique style in *Teja* we now have the modern and naturalistic, instead of the force and strength of old, the lamentable weakness of modern times and the mendacity of our morals. Besides this, there is the contrast between the perfect outward politeness and the inner brutality of military circles, between the external polish of the nobleman and the ravenous beast within his heart ever ready to pounce upon its victim. Of course these remarks are true only in a limited sense. Perhaps it may be pardonable to give a few lines of the closing scene wherein Fritzchen bids farewell forever to his delicate mother. Jauntily waving adieu from the terrace in the background, he cries with counterfeit gaiety: "*Wiedersehn, wiedersehn*," and goes straightway to his disgraceful doom. As the curtain sinks upon the harrowing close, his mother, with a happy smile upon her face, gazes out into the distance and relates a vision of the preceding night: She says, "Heavens, the boy! How handsome he looks, so brown and healthy. You see, he looked just so last night. No, there can be no deception in it. But I *told* you how the Emperor brought him into the midst of all the generals! And the Emperor said . . ." The curtain falls, and we are left with the pathetic contrast in the mother's happy illusion and the pitiless end awaiting the boy.

The collection known as *Morituri* may not contain the best exemplifications of antitheses in Sudermann's work, but because of the very high rank taken by *Teja* and *Fritzchen*, I have thought it best to say something about them in my paper.

Johannis (1898) is a play of marked contrasts.

Its tragedy and its action are based on the antithesis of the teaching of Jesus and that of John. John, the preacher of penitence and severity, of uncompromising punishment to be inflicted on the sinner, is confounded, disarmed and delivered to his enemies in consequence of impotence resulting from the effect of the message of love from Jesus: "Love your enemies," etc., just as he is about to lead his disciples in stoning Herod and his adulterous wife to death. John is the embodiment of austerity and solemnity, whereas Herod is the one around whom skepticism has made a void in which resounds the hollow laugh of witticism. Self-indulgence is the only law by which he is governed. Vitellius, the Roman commissar at Herod's court, is a fitting complement in the contrast. Sensual and self-indulgent too, he is a glutton of renown, a Roman swelled to the point of bursting with the contemptuous pride of his race. Vitellius and Herod taken together make a background against which the Forerunner of Jesus stands out most prominently. And what could illumine more glaringly the marmorean purity of the Forerunner's character than the corruption in Herod's court? Adulterous Herodias and Herod, proud and gluttonous Vitellius, beautiful and lascivious Salome are dressed in all the colors of sin, whereas John is clothed in the spotlessness of stern austerity. Fair and false Salome has her counterpart too, in the gentle, pure, unselfish Miriam whose life goes out in humble sacrifice for love of John and his exalted teaching. Salome is, moreover, in possession of a personality in itself a contrast,—beautiful, joyous, fascinating, poetical, she is false as she is fair, as venomous as she is beautiful, as sensuous as she is gay, as shameless as she is captivating. Now what could be more apparently incongruous than that so young and romantic a maiden who sings of the rose of Sharon and of the lily of the valley should offer illicit love to savage and repellant John? Act 4, scene 6, Salome says: "I have made thank offerings as she did of whom the song tells, and I have performed secret vows. Then I went out into the twilight to seek thy countenance and the flash of thine eye. Come, let us enjoy love until the morning. And my companions shall watch upon the threshold and greet the early morning with their harps." John: "Truly thou art mighty . . . for thou art sin."

Salome: "Sweet as sin am I." John: "Go!"
 Salome: "Dost thou drive me away?" (She rushes through the gate.)

Of the setting of the various acts it may be noticed that the *Vorspiel* is enacted in a wild and rocky region in the vicinity of Jerusalem. It is night and the moonlight gleams dimly through the broken clouds. In the distance, on the horizon may be seen the fire of the altar of burnt offering. Dark figures are passing in the background. The second act introduces us into Herod's palace, then comes the shoemaker's house in the third act, then the Temple. In the fourth act, a prison in a Galilean town, and lastly, in the fifth act, the gorgeous banquet scene and dazzling close in Herod's palace.

Die drei Reihfeder (1898) is very clearly a drama of contrast, for the truth it teaches in its symbolism is that strength and firmness of purpose, will, determination and unrelenting energy will win and control; that a dreamy, visionary and romantic nature, with its insatiable longings and fancies, its instability and indecision, cannot avail.

Hans Lorbass, the strong-willed, practical man of energy, is placed as a companion and contrast by the side of the vacillating, romantic dreamer, Prince Witte, "the unwearying child of desire," and when the latter's idle roaming in search of his ideal is done, when his death comes as a result of his failure to grasp and comprehend his ideal while in possession of it, then Hans Lorbass the practical worker, the energetic realist, survives the dreamer, will assume his duties and responsibilities, and will control the realm the former should have governed. The words that flow from his lips in the first scene, and in the last, contain the substance of the play and reveal alike the destiny of both men:

Denn bei jedem grossen Werke,
 Das auf Erden wird vollbracht,
 Herrschen soll allein die Stärke,
 Herrschen soll allein wer lacht.

Niemals herrschen soll der Kummer,
 Nie wer zornig überschäumt,
 Nie, wer Weiber braucht zum Schlummer
 Und am mindesten, wer träumt.

And at the end, —

Meins (mein Werk) muss neu beginnen!
 Gern scharwerk' ich weiter und hetzte mich wund

Als meines Lieblings Henker und Hund,
 Doch weil das nimmer geschehen kann,
 So tret' ich nunmehr sein Erbe an:

Dort drüben gibt's ein verlottertes Land,
 Das braucht eine rächende, rettende Hand,
 Das braucht Gewalttat, das braucht ein Recht; —
 Zum Herrn—werde der Knecht!

Certain other contrasts may be mentioned which, though existing, are not necessarily the result of intention. Prince Witte's wife is the personification of the self-sacrificing instinct, Widwolf, the Duke of Gotland, the personification of self-seeking. Hans Lorbass is the faithful attendant on his master, Witte; whereas Sköll can scarcely be accounted true to his lord, the Duke of Gotland. The queen is the very essence of virtue and purity, but her lady in waiting, Unna Goldhaar, succumbs readily, for all we know, to Witte's adulterous weakness. Finally, one's attention is arrested by the great contrast in scenery afforded by the first and by the last acts. The first, on the lonesome Norse sea-shore skirted by the silent graves of unknown dead, colored with the mist of somber symbolism; and the second, third and fourth acts in the castle with all the pomp, splendor, bustle and excitement of court life. In the fifth act we return to the scene of the first, that has grown more somber in the interval. The first act is the embarkation of Witte and Lorbass on the sea of life, high hopes swelling the sails of their idealism; the last act is the end of life, after all the disillusionings of experience.

Es lebe das Leben, the most successful of Sudermann's more recent plays, is reported to have been decidedly the theatrical event of the season, (1902). Bulthaupt (p. 473) remarks that "the contrast between man and woman which is disclosed in *Johannisfeuer*, particularly in the third act, is again exhibited here in an ennobled and refined form." That is true in a sense, for the feelings and conduct of the heroine, Beate v. Kellinghausen, are the converse of those of her guilty associate, Richard v. Völkerlingk, in the face of exposure and death. He is driven to despair by the consciousness of guilt and the wrong done his friend. He believes that his strength is gone and that the harmony of his life is destroyed. Beate exults in the happiness she

has had and believes she has done the best she could. Part of a conversation between her and Richard in the eleventh scene of the fourth act will evince this. Beate (referring to a famous speech just delivered by Richard in the Reichstag in defence of the sanctity of the marriage tie) says: "I laugh because you denied us to-day and all our long silent happiness before the people. Wait, dear friend, the hour will come when the cock will crow thrice, then you will weep bitterly. I do not reproach you. It is not *your* conscience. It is the conscience of everybody that haunts you. I am a foolish woman. What do *I* care about everybody. It seemed to you a sin, to me it was a step upward to myself, to the infinite fulfillment of the harmony which nature had in view with me. And because I felt that"—Richard interrupts her: "So you deny all guilt in our case?" Beate replies: "I deny nothing. I affirm nothing. I stand on the other shore of the great stream, and laugh across at you. O you, you! (laughs) Renunciation! . . . Now that it's all at an end, I'll confess it to you. I have never been resigned. I longed for you day and night, feverishly, distressfully . . . when you were with me, when you were away, always, always. I played the part of the cool friend and bit my lips till they were sore, my heart was broken with sorrow . . . and yet I was happy, unspeakably, inhumanly." In the eighth scene of the third act Richard had said in regard to his coming speech: "You call it (my feeling) conscience, I call it a joint or common feeling. I say to myself constantly: how can I answer for what I am going to say there before God and the world, if that which I live and do screams mockery in His face? . . . The sanctuary of matrimony, in all its moral exaltation, as the divine pillar, to a certain extent, of all human society, I am to bring before the eyes of the cynics in the party opposed to us. . . . And this pillar in me is broken . . . I find intellectual justification for you and for myself, only in case I think just as materialistically and cynically as those who are enemies to our order. . . . And not even that. What we call God is for them 'social expediency.' And this pseudo-God is even more merciless, if possible, than Jehovah of the old covenant was. With the convenient device: 'Conform to my words and not to my works.'—I cannot manage. . . . What I give, I must give without inner contradiction,

harmonious. And so my every thought runs away to nothing, thus from every premise flows the contrary of that which I will and must conclude . . . and whithersoever my natural judgment would force me, if it were not influenced by—by— . . . Pardon me, I am so tired. My brain will furnish no more evidence. First the torments of yesterday evening when a single recoiling wince might have hurled us both into destruction. Then the long night of labor over my desk. . . . In the first place it cost me a desperate bit of will-power to concentrate my thoughts after what I have experienced. But then theoretical considerations got such power over me that I awoke not until that moment as if from a dream, and asked myself: What is to happen? . . . Oh, Beate, truth, truth. To be once again in harmony with myself. For the bare right of having again a conviction, I would joyfully throw everything away, my little bit of personal existence, my life,—everything." How different from the spirit of the woman who drinks a toast to the joys of life just before committing suicide to save her friend and family from scandal and ruin. Before assembled friends at her table she says: "Just see, dear friends, you are always crying: 'Long may he live, long may he live!' But *who* really lives? Who *dares* live? Somewhere something is in bloom, and a glimpse of its color comes over to us, and then we secretly shudder like criminals. . . . That is all that we have of life. Why, do you believe that you live, or do I? (Standing up with a sudden inspiration). Yes, I do. My existence has been for my body and soul nothing but a long struggle against death. I am scarcely acquainted with sleep any longer. Every free breath I draw is a gift of mercy . . . and yet I have never forgot laughter,—and in spite of it all I have been full of thankfulness and happiness. And I lift this glass and cry out of the fulness of my soul: (almost in a whisper) "Es lebe das Leben, meine Lieben Freunde!"

Apart from this fundamental difference in the two leading characters and the passages quoted, contrasts by no means unnatural, forced or theatrical, nothing else has been found to speak of here, so that, in regard to the subject under consideration, of the plays as yet written by Sudermann, this is one of the freest from artificiality.

Of *Stein unter Steinen* (1905), Heilborn re-

marks in *Die Nation* (1905-6): "Beside the criminal, Biegler, who has been released, and who has now become a watchman at a stone mason's yard, there stands a girl who has a child by one of the journeymen. She has been kept subservient to him by false promises of marriage and has been brutally treated. For both of the chief characters, Sudermann's flexible fancy has created contrasting figures. By the side of that discharged convict who is struggling hard with life and fate, is placed another discharged convict, Struve, a comic figure, who speaks with enthusiasm of life in the house of correction, and he would not be unwilling to return to it. The heroine sighs over the shame of having given birth to an illegitimate child; her friend, a poor, deformed creature, the daughter of the master stone mason, longs for love and a child, even if the latter were the fruit of thousandfold shame. And, furthermore, the master himself is a philanthropist, and is glad to offer refuge to released criminals. The police commissioner who visits him boasts of his own kindly feelings for criminals, but does not hesitate a moment to expose publicly the secret of the man who has just succeeded in getting honorable work. One may say that for contrasts care has been well taken, the antithetical skeletons are skillfully covered with flesh and blood."

Some marked contrasts may be pointed out in *Das Blumenboot* (1905), but perhaps not many more than would ordinarily be found in a play of serious purpose having so many in the *dramatis personæ*. There must be variety in order that deadly monotony be avoided. Of the characters, I have only time to say that there are several contrasting sets and that the moral standards and ideals that govern them are opposed. Illustrations would require many pages. The four acts take place in the handsome residence of the Hoyers, whereas the *Zwischenspiel* between the second and third acts is in a low club of ultra Bohemian type, patronized by an ordinary set of actors and artists from variety theaters. It is called *Das Meerschweinchen*, and to this Fred Hoyer takes his young wife on the night of their wedding, as he had promised the curious and advanced young lady he would do. So, we get a glimpse of two different faces of vice: the repulsive and repellent one in the *Meerschweinchen*, the polished and re-

finéd visage in the town-residence belonging to the Hoyers and in their villa near Berlin.

I do not care to pronounce judgment with conclusiveness, but if *Stein unter Steinen* be conceded to be an important criterion, then it must be admitted that Sudermann is still as fond of the artifice of contrast as he was at first, and that he uses it to almost as great an extent. But *Johannisfeuer* (1900), *Es lebe das Leben*, even *Sturmeselle Socrates* (1903), and *Das Blumenboot*, point rather toward a diminution in the glaring extent to which the ingenious device is employed. *Es lebe das Leben*, which, in a way, has as little of it as any of the plays yet published by Sudermann, is the only one of his most recent works that has achieved marked success in Germany. But the fact that *Die Ehre* and *Heimat*, in which contrasts play the greatest role, have also had the greatest success, tends to bear out Ibsen in the statement that "the personages of a play must be sharply contrasted in character and in purpose."

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SHAKSPERE AND THE CAPITOL.

The Capitol of Roman antiquity was the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the Mons Tarpeius: in a wider sense, the whole hill, including the temple and the citadel. With the deterioration of classical Latin we find the word used for any heathen temple ("In Capitoliis enim idola congesta erant." *S. Hieronymus adversus Luciferianos*. cap. i., cited by Ducange); then in the sense of a place of justice ("aedes in qua jus dicitur." *Gloss. Saxon. Aelfrici*, cited by Ducange); and, finally for the meeting place of the Senate (Jo. de Janua, "Capitolium dicitur a Capitulum quia ibi conveniebant Senatores sicut in Capitulo claustrales," cited by Ducange).

According to Mommsen (*Bk. i*, vii) the original meeting place of the Senate was within the area of the Capitol, but it was removed in very early days to the space where the ground falls away from the stronghold to the city, and there was erected the special Senate house called from

its builder Curia Hostilia. Here then the Senate met except under extraordinary circumstances, when, indeed, they could and did assemble in any consecrated building. At the time of Cæsar's assassination the Curia Hostilia was in process of reconstruction, under his orders, and meetings were held in Pompey's theatre. In North's *Plutarch* Cæsar is said to have been murdered in the Senate house, though there is one allusion which undoubtedly refers to the temporary meeting place:—"The place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre."

That Shakspeare places the scene of the tragedy in the Capitol is usually regarded as an instance of conscious and deliberate variation from North's *Plutarch*. But is it not possible that Shakspeare in thinking of the setting of his great scene had no intention of departing from the narrative which had so strong an attraction for him and to which he was so deeply indebted? May it not have been that to his mind "Capitol" was only another name for the Senate house?

There was undoubtedly a very general impression that the Senate did meet in the Capitol, and consequently that the Capitol was the scene of Cæsar's death. It will be remembered that in *Hamlet*, III, ii, 108, Polonius, recalling his student days when he did enact Julius Cæsar, says:

I was kill'd i' th' Capitol: Brutus kill'd me.

an indication that in some University play familiar to Shakspeare, (possibly Dr. Edes' *Cæsar's Interfecti*, acted at Christ Church, Oxford, 1582), the scene of the assassination was placed in the Capitol.

The idea is found in the thirteenth century. In the *Life and Acts of the most victorious Conqueror Robert Bruce, King of Scotland*, by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, we have:—

Julius Cæsar als, that wan
Britain and France, as doughty man,
Africke, Arabe, Egypt, Syry,
And all Europe also hailly,
And for his worship and valour,
Of Rome was made first Emperour.
Syne in his Capitol was he,
Through them of his counsel privie
Slain with punsoun right to the dead;

And when he saw there was no read,
His e'en with his hand closed he,
For to die with more honesty. ll. 537-550.

In the Lincoln MS., *Morte Arthure*, 1400?, the word occurs three times, once speaking of the Capitol as a distinct building, and twice as the meeting place of the Senate.

Thei couerde þe capitoile, and keste down þe walles.
M. M. Banks, l. 280.

That on Lammesse daye thare be no lette founden,
pat thow bee redy at Rome with all thi rounde table,
Appere in his presens with thy price knyghtez,
At pryme of the daye, in payne of 3our lyvys,
In e kydde Capytoile before þe kyng selvyn,
When he and his senatours bez sette as them lykes.
Id., ll. 92-97.

Also:—

Now they raike to Rome the redyeste wayes,
Knylles in the capatoylle, and comowns assembles,
Souerayngez and senatours.
Id., ll. 2352-2354.

Chaucer expresses the same notion:—

This Julius to the Capitolie went
Upon a day, as he was want to goon;
And in the Capitolie anon him hente
This false Brutus and his othere foon.
Monk's Tale.

Coming back to Shakspeare we find in *Julius Cæsar*, I, ii, 187, 188:—

As we haue scene him in the Capitoll
Being crost in Conference, by some Senatours.

which would seem to imply the scene of a regular senatorial debate. In *Titus Andronicus* and in *Coriolanus* it becomes perfectly evident that Shakspeare conceived of the Capitol as a *building* in which the meetings of the Senate took place:

Keepe then this passage to the Capitoll:
And suffer not Dishonour to approach
Th' Imperiall Seate to Vertue;
Titus Andronicus, I, i, 12-14.

And again:—

And in the Capitoll and Senates right,
Whom you pretend to Honour and Adore,
That you withdraw you.
Id., I, i, 41-43.

Later in the same scene there is the stage direction (F.¹) "Flourish. They go up into the Senat house."

Coriolanus (III, i, 239) speaks of "th' Porch o' th' Capitoll:" and again (II, i, 90-93) Brutus says to Menenius:—

Come, come, you are well vnderstood to bee a perfecter gyber for the Table, then a necessary Bencher in the Capitoll.

This scene ends:—

Brutus. Let's to the Capitoll,
And carry with us Eares and Eyes for th' time,
But Hearts for the euent.

Scicini. Haue with you.

Act II, ii, begins with the stage direction (F.¹):—

Enter two Officers, to lay cushions, as it were, in the Capitoll.

After a discussion between them the direction goes on:—

A Sennet. Enter the Patricians, and the Tribunes of the People, Lictors before them: Coriolanus, Menenius, Cominius the Consul: Scicinius and Brutus take their places by themselves: Coriolanus stands.

Later in the same scene Coriolanus goes away rather than hear his deeds discussed. When he re-enters he is greeted with—

Menen. The Senate, Coriolanus, are well pleas'd
To make thee Consull.

II, ii, 96, 97.

Later, II, iii, 151-154,—

The People doe admit you and are summon'd
To meet anon vpon your approbation.

Corio. Where? at the Senate-house?
Scicini. There, Coriolanus.

We have also, *Id.*, V, iv, 1-7:—

Menen. See you yond Coin o' th' capitol, yon'd corner-stone?

Scicini. Why, what of that?

Menen. If it be possible for you to displace it with your little finger, there is some hope the Ladies of Rome especially his Mother, may preuaile with him.

That Shakspeare shared this idea with at least one other Elizabethan dramatist may be determined by turning to Thomas Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*. Here we have the same use of "Capitol" for the Parliament house:—

Tarquini. The King should meet this day in parliament
With all the Senate and Estates of Rome.

Lucretius. May it please thee, noble Tarquin, to attend
The King this day in the high Capitol?
I, i.

In discussing the prospects for this day, Valerius says—

I divine we shall see scuffling to-day in the Capitol.
I, i.

Brutus arising to address the assemblage says—

I claim the privilege of the nobility of Rome, and by that privilege my seat in the Capitol. I am a lord by birth, my place is as free in the Capitol as Horatius, thine; or thine, Lucretius; thine, Sextus; Aruns thine; or any here.—I, ii.

And again the idea of a splendid building—

Think how that worthy prince, our kinsman king,
Was butchered in the marble Capitol. II, i.

Is it not possible that so general a conception points to some common source, some definite, albeit incorrect notion of Roman archeology? Can we turn to a possible source of this general error?

About the time that the attempt was made in the twelfth century to restore the Senate to Rome, a guide book was put forth for the use of pilgrims to the Eternal City. It was a compilation by some one unknown, and was entitled *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*: the earliest extant copy is of the twelfth century, and is in the Vatican library. It proved immensely popular, going through many editions and translations in the succeeding centuries, and, of course, losing no whit of its wonderfulness at the hands of monkish copyists. A ms. of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, with additions, omissions, and rearrangements is in the Laurentian library at Florence, and being entitled *Graphia, Aurea Urbis Romae*, is ordinarily distinguished as the *Graphia*.

Says Gregorovius, in *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (M. A. Hamilton):—

"The twelfth century favoured the earliest studies of Roman archeology. The Senators, who flattered themselves that they had restored the republic on the Capitol, calling to mind the monumental splendours of ancient Rome, rebuilt in imagination the city of wonders of their ancestors. . . . At the time of the restoration of the Senate, the *Graphia* and *Mirabilia* assumed the form in which they have come down to us; they were henceforth disseminated in transcripts, but were also reduced to absurdity by ignorant copyists. . . . The piecemeal origin

of the *Mirabilia*, at any rate, cannot be denied; nevertheless the original recension is missing. . . .

"In this curious composition, written by an unknown scholar, concerning *The Wonders of the City of Rome*, Roman archaeology, which has now attained such appalling proportions, puts forth its earliest shoots in a naïve and barbarous form and in a Latin as ruinous as its subject. . . .

"The book . . . contains nothing more or less than the archeological knowledge of Rome, in an age when Italy made courageous effort to shake off the barbarism of the Middle Ages, the rule of priests, and the tyranny of the foreigner, at one stroke. The book of the *Mirabilia* consequently appears the logical consequence of the archaeological restoration of the ancient city in the time of the formation of the free commune."

Gregorovius, iv, 653-664.

As the *Mirabilia* and *Graphia* accounts of the Capitol show some differences it may be permissible to quote both:—

Capitolium quod erat caput mundi, ubi consules et senatores morabantur ad gubernandum orbem, cuius facies cooperta erat muris altis et firmis diu super fastigium montis vitro et auro undique coopertis et miris operibus laqueatis. Infra arcem palatium fuit miris operibus auro et argento et aere et lapidibus pretiosis perornatum, ut esset speculum omnibus gentibus.

Templa quoque quae infra arcem fuere, quae ad memoriam ducere possum, sunt haec. In summitate arcis super porticum crinorum fuit templum Iovis et Monetae, sicut reperitur in marthiologio Ovidii de faustis. In partem fori templum Vestae et Caesaris, ibi fuit cathedra pontificum paganorum, ubi senatores posuerunt Iulium Caesarem in cathedra sexta die infra mensem Martium. Ex alia parte Capitolii super Cannaparam templum Iunonis. iuxta forum publicum templum Herculis, in Tarpeio templum Asilis, ubi interfectus fuit Iulius Caesar a senatu. . . . Ideo dicebatur aureum Capitolium, quia prae omnibus regnis totius orbis pollebat sapientia et decore.¹

Mirabilia, Cod. Vaticanus 3973.

¹The Capitol is so called, because it was the head of the world, where consuls and senators abode to govern the Earth. The face thereof was covered with high walls and strong, rising above the top of the hill, and covered all over with glass and gold and marvellous carved work. . . . Within the fortress was a palace all adorned with marvellous works in gold and silver and brass and costly stones, to be a mirror to all nations; . . . Moreover the temples that were within the fortress, and which they can bring to remembrance, be these. In the uppermost part of the fortress, over the *Porticus Crinorum*, was the temple of Jupiter and Moneta, as is found in Ovid's Martyrology of the *Fasti*, wherein was Jupiter's image of gold, sitting on a throne of gold. Towards the market-place, the temple of Vesta and Caesar; there was the chair of the pagan pontiffs, wherein the senators had

Capitolium erat caput mundi ubi consules et senatores morabantur ad gubernandum orbem. Cuius facies cooperta erat muris altis et firmis super fastigio montis vitro et auro undique coopertis et miris operibus laqueatis ut esset speculum omnibus gentibus. In summitate arcis super porticum crinorum fuit templum jovis et monete. In quo erat aurea statua jovis sedens in aureo trono. In tarpeio templum asilum ubi interfectus est julius cesar a senatu.

Graphia, Laurentian ms.²

In connection with the last sentence quoted it is suggestive that the title of Dr. Edes' play, mentioned above, should have been *Cesaris Interfecti*. It is difficult, however, to imagine just what idea was conveyed by the sentence as a whole. The "templum asilum" is probably the temple of which Plutarch speaks:—"Furthermore, when their citie beganne a litle to be settled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitives and afflicted persones, which they called the temple of the god Asylaeus. Where there was sanctuary and safety for all sortes of people that repaired thither," North's *Plutarch, Romulus*, Nutt's reprint, ed. Wyndham. But why should it have been supposed to be the scene of Caesar's death? Unless, indeed, there was some notion that he fled there for sanctuary which was violated by the conspirators. At all events, English literary tradition seems to have ignored the templum asilum, but to have clung to the conception of the Capitol as a distinct and imposing building, the meeting place of the Senate. One reason for this may be that the templum asilum is not mentioned in the passage of the *Polychronicon* quoted below.

Considering the popularity of this precursor of Baedeker it is not hard to account for the widespread notion of the Capitol as the scene of Caesar's death. But the *Mirabilia* influenced English literature through another channel than the Latin text itself. The *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, c. 1327, has a description of Rome, transferred in

set Julius Caesar on the sixth day of the month of March. On the other side of the Capitol, over *Cannapara*, was the temple of Juno. Fast by the public market-place the temple of Hercules. In the Tarpeian hill, the temple of Asilis where Julius Caesar was slain of the Senate. . . . And it was therefore called Golden Capitol, because it excelled in wisdom and beauty before all the realms of the whole world.—Tr. F. M. Nicholls, 1889.

²These extracts from the *Mirabilia* and *Graphia* are from *Codes Urbes Romae Topographicus*. C. L. Urlichs, 1871.

large measure, with due credit to one "Master Gregorius," from the *Mirabilia*. To the sufficiently amazing statements of the *Mirabilia* are appended extra absurdities, such as might come from the gossip of pilgrims. Of the *Polychronicon* there are more than one hundred Latin mss. extant, besides translations into English of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. It was printed by Caxton, 1482, and by Wynkin de Worde, 1495, and a glance at the few words therein devoted to the Capitol will demonstrate the connection with the *Mirabilia* :

"Item in Capitolio, quod erat altis muris vitro et auro coopertis, quasi speculum mundi sublimiter erectum, ubi consules et senatore mundum regebant, erat templum Jovis in quo statua Jovis aurea in throno aureo erat sedens."

This passage in the translation of John Trevisa, 1387, runs as follows :

"Also þe Capitol was arrayed wip hig walles i-heled wip glas and wip gold, as it were þe mirrour of all þe world aboute. þere consuls and senatours gouernede and rulede al þe world, as moche as was in here power ; and þere was Iupiters temple, and in þe temple wer Iupiters ymage of golde, sittynge in a trone."³

That Heywood was indebted to the *Polychronicon* rather than to the *Mirabilia* itself is shown in a speech in *The English Traveller*, I, i :

Sir, my husband

Hath took much pleasure in your strange discourse
About Jerusalem and the Holy Land :
How the new city differs from the old,
What ruins of the Temple yet remain,
Or whether Sion, and those hills about,
With the adjacent towns and villages,
Keep that proportioned distance as we read ;
And then in Rome, of that great pyramis
Reared in the front, on four lions mounted ;
How many of those idol temples stand,
First dedicated to their heathen gods,
Which ruined, which to better use repaired ;
Of their Pantheon and their Capitol—
What structures are demolished, what remain.

Higden mentions Mt. Sion and the Temple on its side and goes on to the relative positions of the Mt. of Olives, Calvary, and Golgotha, and also the villages of Bethpage and Bethany. The good

³The quotations from the *Polychronicon* and Trevisa's translation are taken from the edition of Churchill Babington.

monk was also responsible for the motion of the pyramis on four lions mounted, a traveller's tale concerning the obelisk in front of St. Peter's, of which he says :—

Hanc autem pyramidem super quattuor leones fundatam peregrini mendosi acum beati Petri appellant, mentiunturque illum fore mundum a peccatis qui sub saxo illo liberius potuit repere.

With all due allowance for the high color of a guide book, whether in the twelfth or the twentieth century, the reader naturally wonders what this edifice may have been which the *Mirabilia* describes as of such dazzling splendour. Gregorovius is of the opinion that it was really the Tabularium that the Middle Ages regarded as the Senate house :

"Among the ruins of ancient monuments on which the eye rested on the Capitol, there were none mightier than the ancient office of State Archives, or the so-called Tabularium, belonging to republican times, with its gigantic walls of peperino, its lordly halls, and its vaulted chambers. The author who described the city in the twelfth century, and, in his cursory enumeration of the hills, only mentioned the Palatium of the Senators, must undoubtedly have thereby understood this mighty building. The populace, looking on the marvelous work, imagined that the ancient Consuls or Senators had dwelt within it, and the nobility of the twelfth century, beyond the church of Aracoeli, found no more fitting spot for its meetings ; neither did the populace discover one more suitable when they determined to reinstate the Senate. We must consequently suppose that the Tabularium, which later became the actual Senate-House, had already been adapted to the uses of a Senate. It was here that the shadow of the Roman republic reappeared in 1143, hovering fantastically over the ruins—itself a legend or a vision of the antiquity whose remembrance gladdened the hearts of its degenerate descendants.

Gregorovius, IV, 477.

And in a note to the above—

"Arnold of Brescia (d. 1155) summoned the Romans to restore the Capitol ; could this mean anything but to restore the greatest ruin, the Tabularium, as the meeting place of the Senate, and also, perhaps, to restore the Arx?"

This conception of the Capitol was not only widespread, but it persisted even while the men of the New Learning had a clear understanding of the matter. Taking the date of *Julius Cæsar* as 1601 and Heywood's *Lucrece* as 1608, we have in 1604 *Julius Cæsar* by William Alexander, Lord Stirling. This is a dreary Senecan waste, but the

Messenger who describes the tragedy to Calpurnia is perfectly correct in his archeology :—

Then Caesar march'd forth to the fatal place ;
Neere Pompeys Theatre where the Senate was.

And Ben Jonson in *Sejanus*, 1603, and in *Cataline*, 1611, shows his exact knowledge in making the Capitol the Arx or citadel, and in having the Senate meet in any consecrated building. However, Ben Jonson whisks the Senate about to an extent which would seem to exaggerate the facts, for authorities agree that meetings outside the regular Senate house, the Curia Hostilia, now covered by the church of S. Adriano, took place only under special conditions, such as prevailed on the fatal Ides of March.

In *Sejanus*, III, i, Tiberius swears—

By the Capitol
And all our gods,

and *Cataline*, IV, i, opens in "A Street at the foot of the Capitol."

In *Sejanus*, V, x, the Temple of Apollo is given as the scene of the Senate's meeting, and later in the same scene we have—

Terentius. The whilst the senate at the temple of Concord
Make haste to meet again.

In *Cataline* IV. ii the Praetor says,—

Fathers, take your places.
Here in the house of Jupiter the Stayer,
By edict from the consul Marcus Tullius,
You're met, a frequent senate.

There is something restless and uncomfortable, a certain lack of dignity, in this picture of a peripatetic body, meeting hither and yon all over Rome. Perhaps the early poets and Shakspeare and Heywood had the best of it, romantically speaking, in their imposing vision of an imperial building with high walls and strong, rising above the top of the hill, and the glitter and splendour of the covering of glass and gold and marvellous carved work.

As farre as doth the Capitoll exceede
The meanest house in Rome ; so farre my Sonne
This Ladies Husband heere, this, (do you see)
Whom you have banish'd, does exceed you all.
Coriolanus, IV. ii, 39-42.

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Molière. A Biography. By H. C. CHATFIELD-TAYLOR. Dutton and Co., New York, 1906.

Unlike Shakespeare, Molière is so well accounted for, both as a poet and as a man, that a genuine Molière-question has never existed. Though there has been much theorizing on the nature of his art, speculative criticism has had little concern with the main facts of his life, or with that favorite theme of critics, the order of his works. Contemporary chronicle, allusions laudatory and libelous, the *Life* by Grimarest in 1705, and the very valuable 'Registre' of the actor La Grange—are quite sufficient to explain all essential points in his career. Thus, the biographer's task here would appear simple, were it not that biography depends as much on interpretation as on document, and that good interpreters are rare. As Renan once said to Tennyson : "la vérité est dans une nuance." To wring from the documents this illusive quality, to give to each detail its proper shade or color, and thereby to reanimate the facts—this in itself requires analytic and imaginative powers of a high order.

Apparently Mr. Chatfield-Taylor is alive to this responsibility, for he attempts, above all, to reconstruct the personality of Molière. As he states in his preface, his intention is to interpret, for English readers, "Molière's life by his plays and his plays by his life." One cannot quarrel with him for thus delimiting his subject. He has chosen the kernel from which all study of the poet should proceed ; and—it may at once be said—he has handled his subject in a stimulating way. We are given a vivid picture of the poet's early surroundings : his father's comfortable bourgeois-home in the rue St. Honoré, and the respectable but cramped existence for which it stood ; of the young Poquelin's longing for greater freedom, and his consequent flight to the stage. Then follow his period of apprenticeship with the 'Illustre Théâtre' and its light-hearted companions—the Bégarts, the storm-and-stress years in the provinces, so fertile in experience : as comedian first to the Duke of Épernon and then to the Prince of Conti, that fickle friend of Molière's school-days. And finally we read of the return to Paris, the 'Précieuses Ridicules' in 1659, the poet's worldly success and the friendship of the King,

the culmination of a momentous struggle in 'Tartuffe,' and the sudden heroic death. All of these events, a drama in themselves, Mr. Taylor sets vividly before the mind's eye, adorned with ample incident and anecdote, and expressed in an interesting and often brilliant style.

If there is a general criticism to be made of Mr. Taylor's treatment, it is that his enthusiasm, a valuable asset in a biography, often oversteps the mark and inspires statements difficult of substantiation. As when he speaks of the trio—Louis XIV, Mazarin and Molière—as "the greatest despot, the greatest knave, and the greatest genius of France." Or, again, when comparing 'Tartuffe,' 'Don Juan' and the 'Misanthrope,' he refers to the last-mentioned as "the greatest unit in this trilogy of unrivalled brilliance." Or in citing, without proper qualifying adjectives, the opinion of Coquelin that Molière is Shakespeare's "equal in fecundity, his superior in truth." Such statements are not only unscholarly, being incapable of proof, but prejudice an argument which is otherwise logical and, in general, convincing.

To consider more specific questions: Mr. Taylor takes the subjective view that Molière's plays are mainly an expression of his own life, an epitome of his personal experience. This playwright, we are made to think, is distinctive in that he placed his personal and family history on the boards for public contemplation. It is doubtless true that Molière, like Shakespeare and Goethe, blended his life with his art, incorporating into his works bits of his own experience. And yet, probably no great writer ever generalized more on mankind in order to render men broadly and permanently human.¹ Superiority over self is the mark of a great soul, and it is one of the traits of genius to transcend the bounds of personality and become universal. Boileau's favorite expression for Molière was: "le grand contemplateur"; whereby he meant not that his eye was turned inwardly upon himself but outwardly on the world of men in which he lived. Thus, though the 'Misanthrope' may in parts reflect the misogyny of the lover of Armande Béjart, Alceste is preëminently

the sentimentalist ill at ease in the indifferent, intellectual atmosphere of court circles. That is why the character appealed so strongly to the Rousseau of a later age, but evoked so little sympathy from the poet's contemporaries. Comedy, as George Meredith so convincingly points out in his well-known essay, is distinctly the product of society; and it is from a deep and broad observation of the great society about him that Molière's comedies arose. Few critics, it seems, will therefore admit with Mr. Taylor, that Mascarille, Eraste, Alceste and Argan "are, part by part, Molière himself, concealed little more than the ostrich with its head in the sand."

Molière's relationship to Louis XIV is set forth in Chapter IX, perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book, and certainly one of the most important. This curious friendship between the absolute sovereign and the social outcast—for an actor was necessarily that—has always been a favorite theme of discussion. After reviewing the opinion of others, Mr. Taylor cleverly escapes the dilemma by saying: "it was the talent of the one to kindle, and of the other to be warmed by, the fire of honest fun which made these geniuses of comedy and kingship understand each other." In other words, he repeats that typically French apothegm: "ce qui produit la familiarité, ce ne sont pas les douleurs partagées, c'est la gaieté en commun," but leaves the real question unexplained. For it seems probable that Louis did not regard his comedian as any ordinary jester, and that his sympathy for him sprang from a deeper source than mere laughter—from some sincere emotional or intellectual kinship with him. Molière, we know, was a disciple of Rabelais and Montaigne. His life shows his unswerving confidence in Nature as the soul's guide. Obey the law of your own being, "fais ce que voudras"—as Rabelais had said—and the problem of existence is solved. It is unnecessary to elaborate the point. Thus it becomes evident at once why the youthful Molière was drawn to Lucretius. He was an epicurean in an age of formalism. But was not Louis just as free? A moulder of convention for lesser men, he himself obeyed the impulses of genius; whereas Molière reflected convention as in a mirror. Hence a common spiritual freedom united the two men. Now, as

¹ The question of Molière's subjectivity is ably discussed by Ph. Aug. Becker in the *Zeitsch. für vergl. Literaturgeschichte*, xvi (1905), pp. 194-221. See, also, E. Rigal, *Revue d'histoire litt.*, ix (1904), pp. 1-21.

long as Molière ridiculed the foibles of humanity, Louis could but rejoice. It must have pleased him to have his whimpering marquesses held up to scorn. But when with 'Tartuffe' the mighty fabric of the church was shaken, the King was compelled to protest, for the church was the mainstay of his realm. And so it happened, for political rather than personal reasons that Louis withdrew his public support from Molière after 1669.

Mr. Taylor has the usual Saxon preference for the 'Misanthrope,' which to him represents the apogee of Molière's power. However excellent this play may be, it is questionable whether Molière's power ever waned; in the opinion of many he died in his intellectual prime. It is worth noting also that M. Coquelin, whom Mr. Taylor cites in another connection, places 'Don Juan' at the head of the poet's plays (*International Quarterly*, 1903, pages 60 ff.). Certainly the latter comedy has something Shakespearian in its breadth and scope, without lacking any of its creator's sense of reality. M. Coquelin further makes clear Don Juan's similarity to Richard III—the great difference being that Don Juan's weapon is impertinence and that Richard's is irony. This trait explains Don Juan's pretended hypocrisy, the stumbling-block of so many Molière commentators, with whom Mr. Taylor here allies himself. In addition, the analogy of 'Tartuffe' and the 'Malade Imaginaire,' which Mr. Taylor mentions, is upheld by a comparison of Argan with Organ, the former of whom seeks to insure the welfare of his body, the latter that of his soul as well,—both being types of extreme selfishness.

From minor errors of detail the book is singularly free. M. Abel Lefranc² has recently made out a good case for dating the 'Étourdi' in 1655, instead of 1653 as Mr. Taylor argues. The Arnould d'Andilly mentioned on page 213 is evidently a slip for Antoine Arnould, who was the true leader of the Port-Royalists. The Bibliography, which contains only works that had been specially consulted in preparation of the book, should, it seems, have included: Coquelin's essay mentioned above, Brunetière's article³ on the

philosophy of Molière, Weiss's lectures⁴ on him, and Stapfer's 'Molière et Shakespeare'⁵—all of which are of general interest and value.

On the whole, the work is very well done, down to the minor details of execution. In this the biographer, the illustrator and the printer all had a share. Professor Crane, whose pupil Mr. Taylor was, contributes an interesting introduction. In closing, be it said that the blank-verse translations of Mr. Taylor are the best rendering we have of Molière in English. Let us hope that he will see fit to complete them, so that English literature may permanently possess the masterpieces of the greatest modern comic genius.

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Molière, by MR. H. C. CHATFIELD-TAYLOR.
Duffield and Company, New York, 1906. xxv
and 446 pages.

To many a reader of this *Life of Molière* will undoubtedly come the question which occurred to the present writer: Why did not some *Fachmann* write this book? Whatever the answer to this question may be, here is a great opportunity lost, for the work is so written that it may well be called definitive.

The author's aim has been "to tell the story of Molière's life to English readers . . . to interpret Molière's life by his plays and his plays by his life, rather than write an exhaustive criticism of his dramatic works." It is true, the book is not an attempt to catalogue and analyse fully the Italian, Spanish, or Latin sources of all the plays that lend themselves to this treatment. Faithful to the object he set out to attain, the author does not wander very far from Molière's life. Yet a deal of this source-discussion is scattered through the book. Some of the foreign sources have been only cursorily indicated, but there is enough information on this subject given to suit all the purposes of the ordinary seminar work in Molière. Besides, there is exhaustive criticism in more than

² *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 15th year, 1st series, 1906.

³ In his *Études crit. sur l'histoire de la littérature française*, 4e ser., 1891, pp. 179-242.

⁴ Paris, 1900 (Calmann Levy).

⁵ 5th ed., Paris, 1905.

one instance, notably in the discussion of *Les Précieuses ridicules*, *L'École des femmes*, *Don Juan*, *Le Tartuffe*, *Le Misanthrope*, and the group of plays satirising the physicians. A practically complete bibliography, a chronology, and an index coöperate in making a scholarly work of unusual merit and usefulness.

The author divides Molière's plays into five groups, based upon the manner in which "the poet's muse was affected by his life." The Italian period includes his firstlings, only four of which have been preserved, viz.: *La Jalousie du Barbouillé*, *Le Médecin volant*, *L'Etourdi* and *Le Dépit amoureux*. In the "Gallic" group he is no longer bound by Italian fetters. Now he needs "only to study society," and he produces *Sganarelle*, *Les Précieuses ridicules*, *L'École des maris*, *L'École des femmes*, and *Le Médecin malgré lui*. His success in amusing the King brings forth such comedies as *Les Fâcheux*, *Le Mariage forcé*, *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, *Le Favori*, *La Princesse d'Elide*, *Mélicerte*, *Le Sicilien*, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, *Les Amants magnifiques*, *Psyché* and *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*, which the author classes under the heading of "time-serving." The plays in which Molière seriously attacks the foibles of contemporary society are called "militant" and include *Le Tartuffe*, *Le Misanthrope*, *L'Amour médecin* and *Le Malade imaginaire*, while such works as *Amphitryon*, *George Dandin*, *L'Avare*, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, *Les Fourberies de Scapin* and *Les Femmes savantes*, written for business reasons, are classed as "histrionic."

This classification is intimately connected with the author's object as before stated. In interpreting Molière's life by his plays and his plays by his life, Mr. Chatfield-Taylor appears to develop the thesis that Molière, the greatest author of comedy, brought to bear upon his most objective of arts a most subjective nature, and that he succeeds best where a comedy is the direct expression of his subjectivity. In other words, *Les Précieuses ridicules*, *L'École des maris*, *L'École des femmes*, *Le Tartuffe*, *Le Misanthrope* and some of his doctor-plays contain Molière's most notable work. That this subjectivity takes the form of polemics upon a broad scale is a corollary, for, according to the author's definition, comedy is criticism in lighter vein and in dramatic form of the foibles of contemporary society. When his polemics stoops to "Billingsgate warfare," as in

La Critique de l'école des femmes and in *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, the result is poor comedy. Where, as in *L'Avare* and *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, the foundation of the personal experience is lacking, we admire Molière's consummate art, his perfect workmanship, but our hearts are not stirred, we are only amused.

A distinct feature of the book is the sympathy, as well as the faithful accuracy with which the intimate life of Molière is portrayed. Trollope's *Life of Molière*, accurate and brimful of facts as it is, lacks this sympathetic, this literary touch. It is a book of reference. But Mr. Chatfield-Taylor's work, while possessing the merits of Trollope's *Molière*, is readable from beginning to end. Here and there are touches of humour and pathos which can come only from one who is endowed with the literary instinct. Any one reading Chapter XVIII cannot help being impressed with the dramatic value of Molière's life, of all life. The metrical translations of illustrative passages show excellent mastery over that most subtle of poetic forms, blank verse.

Great pains have been taken to make the illustrations historically exact. The artist, Jacques Onfroy de Bréville (JoB), examined the original documents and plates contained in the archives of the *Comédie française*, the *Bibliothèque nationale*, etc. The costumes of the *Comédie française* and the *Théâtre de l'Odéon* were placed at his disposal. The famous *fauteuil de Molière* and the interior of Gély's barbershop have for the first time been reproduced together. For the drawing representing Molière and the poet Bellocq making the King's bed at Versailles the original architect's drawing in the *Estampes nationales* was used, because the room itself was considerably altered in 1701. In the sketch depicting Armande Béjart in Molière's room, the furniture and effects have been reproduced from the description given in the inventory of the poet's property, made a few weeks after his death.

For his Molière scholarship Mr. Chatfield-Taylor has already been recognised in France, where he has been made *Officier de l'Instruction Publique*¹ and given the cross of the *Légion d'hon-*

¹ Spain and Portugal had already rewarded the author for his studies of Spanish life with the decorations, respectively, of "Chevalier, Order of Isabella the Catholic" and "Chevalier, Order of St. Iago." His *bagage littéraire* consists of seven novels and many articles in periodicals.

neur. Wherever possible all statements have been verified from first-hand sources. In building the book the author has collected a Molière library not equalled by many college libraries in the United States.

Professor Crane, of Cornell University, has given the work an instructive and appreciative introduction.

F. C. L. VAN STEENDEREN.

Lake Forest University.

English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer. By WILLIAM HENRY SCHOFIELD, Ph. D., Professor of Comparative Literature in Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906.

Middle English literature has had to wait a long time for a satisfactory historian. However laudable for the time which produced them may have been the chapters on the subject in Warton's *History of English Poetry*, and however convenient those in Morley's *English Writers*, both works are mainly descriptive, give little aid to an understanding of the subject, and are quite untrustworthy as regards facts. ten Brink's *History of English Literature*, for all its judiciousness, and M. Jusserand's *Literary History of the English People*, for all its charm, are neither exhaustive nor otherwise adequate to the needs of the special student or the capable general reader. Therefore, Professor Schofield's book, while in no sense a great one and necessarily not a final one, is even more indispensable than it is excellent.

The arrangement of the book is the feature which most obviously calls for comment. Following the example of the late Gaston Paris and of other French writers, the author has divided his material not chronologically but according to its literary *genres* or subject-matter. He has even improved, if one may be permitted to say so, on the arrangement adopted by the great French scholar in his *Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, by making his own less mechanical. After the introduction come chapters on Anglo-Latin, and

Anglo-Norman and Anglo-French literature, the English language, romance, tales, historical, religious and didactic works, and songs and lyrics, followed by a conclusion, a suggestive chronological table, an excellent working bibliography and a full index.¹ In view of the present state of our knowledge and the prevalent unfamiliarity with mediæval literary categories, such a division of the material was certainly the best, and is one reason why the book will be far more useful than ten Brink's. But the fact should not be disregarded that this is largely an expository, almost a pedagogical, device; that it is untrue to nature and unfair; that it greatly exaggerates what the author calls the static character of mediæval literary types. We may hope that the time will come when the literary history of mediæval England may be written in such a way as will make its intellectual and artistic changes from the twelfth to the fifteenth century nearly as plain as those of any later period. Professor Schofield himself says (p. 24), "Study, however, shows one century developing naturally out of another. From the barbarity of the dark ages to the affectations of the pre-Renaissance epoch is a long but steady progression." He actually does make an attempt (on pp. 28 and 98) at a chronological characterization of the Latin literature of the period. Would it not even have been well, perhaps, if his final chapter had been a chronological retrospect? This would have afforded an admirable prelude to the treatment of Chaucer and his contemporaries, to which all students are looking forward in Dr. Schofield's next volume.

One of the most interesting and illuminating chapters in the book is the introduction, on the conditions under which Middle English literature came into existence; on the linguistic, political, ecclesiastical, and social peculiarities of mediæval England, and on such classes of men, significant for literary history, as the clerks and minstrels. One might suggest that the five-page conclusion, on similar subjects, and the five-page Chapter IV,

¹ The omission here of the romance of *Athelstone* may be noted, however (see p. 275). The suggestion may be made that it would save much fingering of pages, if the reference to the main treatment of each subject were printed in heavy-faced type.

on the English language, might well have been worked in with it. Such a point as this illustrates the lack of final and mature revision and verification which one frequently notices in the book. In these chapters, however, and usually, indeed, throughout, the writer has kept constantly in mind how much assistance the ordinary reader requires for the comprehension of mediæval literature, and has given it in a living way.

A novel feature of the book is the amount of space (a quarter of the whole) given to Anglo-Latin and Anglo-French literature. In the attempt to be at once condensed, exhaustive, and vivid, the first and longer of these chapters (especially its second half) is somewhat desultory and rambling; indeed, other parts of the book possibly leave something to be desired in perspicuity and significance of transitions and minor arrangement. In consequence of this, and also of the author's familiarity with Old Norse literature, he is not seldom in these chapters betrayed into irrelevancies.² But the presence of these chapters seems an admirable feature, and that for two reasons. They call attention to the amount of characteristic and meritorious intellectual and artistic work which the mediæval English did in other languages, and to the neglected problems in literary history which it involves. And they should help to kill the old notion that from the Conquest to Chaucer's day England was an intellectual desert merely because literature in English was ill-written and only for the uncritical classes. More than this, it may even be said that a historian of this period gives a false impression and neglects his duty who confines himself to literature in the English language. For this reason, it seems to the reviewer that Professor Schofield's book might much more properly have been called *The Literary History of England* than *English Literature*. *De facto*, that is what it is.

By far the most interesting and valuable chapter is that on Romance, which fills more than a third of the volume. This vast, intricate and far-reaching subject few living men could have treated with more thoroughness, discrimination, and freshness than we find here. Dr. Schofield has been fairly conservative, and (it seems to the reviewer)

has refrained from brilliant guesses and immature decisions quite as much as one could expect. He has, of course, treated the romantic cycles genetically, from the point of view of French romance and its origins. At times his fondness for mediæval French sophistication and refinement has made him a little less than appreciative of the native English spirit; it is singular that one who has written so much on *King Horn* should not do more justice to that admirable poem. But, on the whole, this chapter is one of the most useful and illuminating treatments of romance to be found anywhere; and is certainly the best to be found in English.³

In the last five chapters there is a noticeable falling off in both matter and manner. However it may be with the chapter on tales, it is not surprising that a writer's enthusiasm should wane perceptibly before the reading and writing involved by the chapters on historical, religious, and didactic works, and that somewhat desultory and even arid subject, the Middle English songs and lyrics. One cannot but regret, however, that the book was not delayed till a more finished treatment of these subjects had been possible, for which we should have been all the more grateful because of its difficulty.

In a book of this compass it is inevitable that small slips and inaccuracies should occur; in this book they are possibly unduly frequent. Trifling though many of the following are, perhaps they are worth noting:—Page 111, line 11. For "two hundred years," read "three hundred."—Page 112, foot. The "agreement of John and Philip Augustus" seems hardly to represent the facts accurately.—Page 116. Is it quite accurate to speak of Thomas' *Tristan* as an "Arthurian romance?"—Page 130. Schofield has confused the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, which was never *de fide* until 1854, with the feast of her Conception.—Page 191. It certainly seems probable that Emare was carried not to Wales but to Galicia; the legend of the miraculous voyage of the body of St. James to Compostella would help, and we may observe (on the principle which

² *E. g.*, on pp. 52, 65, 71, 75, 89, 90, 105-6, 125; even later, as well, on pp. 151-3 and 368 (last paragraph).

³ In connection with Schofield's mention of Marie de France's *Guingamor* (pp. 192, 199), a curiously close parallel to that lay may be noted in the Japanese *Lay of Urashima*; see F. V. Dickins' *Primitive and Mediæval Japanese Texts* (Oxford, 1906), pp. 136-146.

Schofield uses in his essay on *Horn and Rymenhild*), that it is only a week's sail from Rome (see Gough's edition, pp. 22, 36).—Page 236. Surely it was not Caxton who gave its name to Malory's *Morte Darthur*; see his colophon.—Page 246. Does not Dr. Schofield miss the essential point in the story of the begetting of Galahad? Lancelot was far from indulging "a guilty love for the daughter of the Grail-King." See Malory, xi, 2, 3.—Page 260. What evidence has Dr. Schofield shown earlier for an "Anglo-Saxon version of the Tristram-story?" The extremely interesting parallel between Marie's lay of *Chievrefoil* and what the Grein-Wülcker *Bibliothek* calls *Die Botschaft des Gemahls*, which he points out on pages 201-2, can hardly be called such.—Page 265. There is a strange error in saying "there still exist three French redactions of the story of Horn, . . . from which were derived three corresponding English versions." The first of these French redactions certainly does not exist now, and some would deny that it ever did. Nor do we know that "the hero in the first English version was a Norseman"; on the contrary, it is the Saracens who drove him out who were originally Norsemen.—Page 281. Edward I is oddly confused with Edward III. See Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum* (Roxb. Club), p. 92.—Page 304. The *Foray of Gadderis* does not occupy "some 14,000" lines in the Scottish *Buik of Alexander*, but less than a quarter of that amount (cf. page 303).—Page 318. "George à Green, Pindar of Wakefield" are, of course, one and the same tale; as no one would infer from Schofield's punctuation.—Page 321. It is difficult to see why the *Squire's Tale* is omitted from the list of *Canterbury Tales* which are "Oriental in character."—Page 324. Is it desirable or even reasonable to represent Chaucer's motive for including coarse stories in his great collection as a sense of obligation? Certainly no parts of the *Canterbury Tales* force on us more the impression of having been written *con amore*.—Page 334. The summary of *The Fox and the Wolf* seems to mistake two delightful touches, in lines 27-40, 249-50; the fox eats three of the hens, and rejoices that Segrin has made a holy end.—Page 336. The creature called a "mereman" in the *Bestiary* is obviously what we call a mermaid.—Page 340. The incor-

rect statement, at the bottom of the page, about Chaucer and Lydgate seems to be due to a confused recollection of what was said on page 296 about Lydgate's *Story of Thebes*.—Page 343. Chauntecleer's "forty lines, or more," on dreams are really more than four times forty.—Page 344. Why is the *Seven Sages* called "one of the earliest Middle English poems?" And why is it attributed to the thirteenth century? Cf. Schofield's own table, page 463, and pages 37-8 of Dr. Killis Campbell's dissertation.—Page 346. In no version of the Husband-Shut-Out story in the above romance that the reviewer can find is the husband "put to death for his pains."—Page 361. It surely is hardly proper to call the *Historia Britonum* "Geoffrey's Brut."—Pages 362, 412. Why perpetuate the custom of calling Robert Manning of Brunne, instead of Bourne, the modern name of the place? We do not speak of "William of Malmesberie."—Page 383. Since the accurate eccentricity of Orm's spelling is dwelt on, it is a pity that in the five quoted lines there are five mistakes in reproducing it.—Page 401. It is also a pity that the paragraph on the *Vision of Thurkill* did not more accurately follow Dr. Becker's dissertation, from which most of it is derived; even if the original was not consulted. The knight was not vainglorious, nor could the theatre in which the damned perform very well be "purgatorial." This is only one of rather frequent errors or loosenesses of language as to ecclesiology; e. g., monks, friars and canons are all called "monks."—Page 413. Robert Manning was not the heretic and precursor of Wyclif which Dr. Schofield implies that he was. He declares that the priest selected to offer masses for the dead ought to be "good and clean," but hardly makes their efficacy depend on his being so (see *E. E. T. S.*, line 10,500).—Page 423. The "Sidrac" whom Dr. Schofield enrolls among "worthies of antiquity" is "Syrac" or "Syrak" in the poem under discussion, and is really, of course, Jesus the son of Sirach. Most of his sage words there quoted may easily be found in the book *Ecclesiasticus*.—Page 430. The Elizabethan dialogue, and the like, is surely descended rather from the Italian *dubbio*, the Platonic dialogue and the Virgilian eclogue than from the mediæval debate.—Page 437. In the last line of Godric's song, should we not read,

with one of the MSS., *wunne* for *winne*?—Page 438, bottom. In the form in which the hymn to Mary is printed, even the special student cannot see that the lines are of seven accents.—Pages 444–5. In the *Cuckoo* and *Alisoun* songs, *swike* here certainly means *cease*, and not *deceive*; *lud* seems much more likely to mean *sound* or *voice* (M. E. *lude*) than *land* (M. E. *lede*, *lud*, which means *people*, *nation*: N. E. D.), and *hendy* certainly does not mean *strange*, but always *pleasant*.—Page 451. *Lazamon's Brut* does not exist in a unique MS.; cf. pages 459, 461.—Page 462. The Popes were at Avignon only till 1377; after 1378 only the antipopes were there.—Misprints may be noted on pages 92 (line 7, read “slyding”), 325 (line 9), 347 (line 27, read “*Novelle*”), 382 (line 6, read “Henry II”), 383 (line 5, read “*pohhtesst*”), 470 (line 32). Pages 174 and 175 are unluckily turned about.

The best thing about the book is no doubt the amount of condensed, accessible information which it contains. Some might perhaps criticize it for a lack of philosophical generalization, for not extracting more tangibly, at times, the spiritual characteristics of the Middle Ages. But it can hardly be denied that for a history it errs on the right side, and from what it does give us we can form our reflections for ourselves. After the world has talked so long about the Middle Ages in ignorance of some of their most significant products, there may well be a truce to generalization. This vast amount of fact is communicated in a style which, though at times not without oddity, is clear, nervous, and animated. And the reader is frequently struck by the freshness and justness of the author's criticisms on subjects on which many writers could have offered no criticisms at all; by the grasp and penetration which have enabled him to go to the heart of a subject, and through the thick veil of mediæval literary convention and literary helplessness to seize upon a writer's essential character.

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An Anthology of German Literature (Part 1), by CALVIN THOMAS, LL. D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1907. 8vo., vi and 195 pp.

The tasks that Professor Thomas sets himself in his publications are all worth while. The present volume is no exception. Max Müller's German Classics has done good service and will not be supplanted by the *Anthology*, but where an inexpensive and condensed survey of German literature is desired preference will be given to the newer work. Part 1 offers 39 selections, ranging from the Hildebrandslied to Johann Geiler and Sebastian Brant and covers therefore a period of some seven centuries. As the *Anthology* is intended for students who “would like to know something of the earlier periods but have not studied, and may not care to study Old and Middle German,” the language used is in all cases modern German. The translations or adaptations are in part by Simrock, Bötticher and other literati and scholars, in other cases Professor Thomas has relied upon his own skill.

The editor's “first principle”: “to give a good deal of the best rather than a little of everything” will certainly command universal approval and no one will question that the selections given show good judgment and sense of proportion. Doubtless almost everyone acquainted with early German literature will miss one or more old friends whom he would like to see included. That, however, is unavoidable in a volume of this compass. But if the writer may make a suggestion for a second edition, I would enter a plea for Frau Ava, especially if Hrotswitha is to be excluded. It is not without significance for the culture of the age that now and then a woman essayed to express herself in verse. If the limits of the present volume *must* be observed we could sacrifice the Old Saxon Genesis, as long as the Heliand and Otfried are so well represented. The brief historical and explanatory remarks that introduce each selection or set of selections contain much information that will prove helpful to the students for whom the work is intended. Here and there, however, these paragraphs seem to have been prepared in too great haste or without proper regard for the effect they are sure to produce upon minds unable from lack of inde-

pendent study to do aught but accept the judgments they here find ready at hand. Thus it is manifestly unfair to Gottfried von Strassburg to describe him as "a graceful and cunning psychologist of sensual passion"—this and nothing more. If the same unqualified statement were returned to an instructor by a student the former, I imagine, would make haste to show that Gottfried was neither a "psychologist" nor "cunning" in the modern acceptance of the terms. Certainly, also, the average student will place too high a value upon Brant's *Narrenschiff* when he reads that "it was Germany's first important contribution to world-literature." I am inclined to believe also that the advantage gained by employing, even occasionally, twentieth century colloquial English is more than offset by the danger of becoming unhistorical. Tho the fact may be as stated, is it not in a deeper sense untrue to say that Thomasin of Zirclaere, in choosing for his poem the title *Der wälsche Gast*, was making a "bid" for the hospitable reception of his book in Germany? And does it not force the note a little to describe the simple tho vigorous comic figures in the Vienna Easter Play as a "peripatetic quacksalver," his "cantankerous wife" and "scapegrace clerk"? A question of a different kind that suggests itself is, why is no resumé of the *Nibelungenlied* given when *Gudrun* is epitomized so successfully in fourteen lines? The footnotes are helpful, but I doubt whether even the most careful reader would secure a clear idea of the poem from the material given. Misleading, it seems to me, is the translation of the title of Heinrich von Melk's well-known poem of satire and admonition as "Remembrance of Death." By *Erinnerung an den Tod* is surely meant *memento mori*.

I find myself, also, unable to agree with Professor Thomas in interpreting the line from the strophe introductory to the Ezzoleich:

Ezzo begunde scriben, Wille fant die wise

as "Ezzo began to write, will found the way (i. e., the meter)." It is true that where there is a will there is a way, but the absence of the demonstrative with Wille and the forced, if not impossible explanation of wise as "way" constrain me to accept the safer, even tho less ingenious interpretation:

Wille composed the melody.

Fra Wille, therefore, was more successful than our editor in following out Mephisto's advice:

Associiert Euch mit einem Poeten,

tho, as our volume proves, Professor Thomas is quite equal to the task of producing a pleasing and scholarly *Anthology* even when he is obliged to combine versifex and editor in one person.

H. Z. KIP.

Vanderbilt University.

La Chanson de Roland. A Modern French Translation of Theodor Müller's Text of the Oxford Manuscript, with Introduction, Bibliography, Notes and Index, Map, Illustrations, and Manuscript Readings, by J. GEDDES, JR. New York and London: Macmillan, 1906. 12mo., cloth, pp. clx, 316. 90 cents net.

The present volume belongs to Macmillan's French Classics. In care of preparation and of execution, the volume deserves a place in the front rank of American publications. While the scholarship displayed is largely assimilative, it is also in many ways original. The editor has made thoroughly his own the vast mass of Roland literature, has coördinated and sorted it out, judged it and placed it before us. The opinions which he expresses are, with very few exceptions indeed, conservative and sound. The author's style, both in his critical comments and in the translation, is clear, direct and worthy of the subject of the poem. One thing which deserves especial commendation, is the distinctly sympathetic attitude of the editor towards his subject. There is here none of the omniscience and condescension which, absurdly enough, characterize much of our editing. The editor's pen knows how to write such words as *may*, *perhaps*, *possible*.

The colored *Carte topographique de la Chanson de Roland*, which precedes the Introduction, is one of the valuable features of the volume, and will come to most readers as a revelation. The Index at the back of the book is extremely serviceable. A careful examination will show it to be almost without error.

The following observations are modestly offered in a spirit of comment rather than of criticism :

On page xx, the translator says that the version of the Oxford *Roland* is thought to date from about 1080, but that older texts probably once existed, since the hero "must have been a subject of general interest during the three centuries preceding." This language squares well with the probable facts, but the same can hardly be said of that used on pages xlix-li, where it is stated that the original text from which comes the Oxford version was not much earlier than the date of the Norman conquest of England. This statement, to be sure, is in accord with the opinions usually expressed on this subject, but it seems to me that any sound theory of popular epic poetry necessitates our supposing that the Oxford version—like every other—came in a direct and probably uninterrupted genesis from poems sung in the ninth century or from the close of the eighth. The fact that the language of these remote periods was "elementary and rude" (cf. page l) simply means that the poetry partook of these qualities, and can not be taken to mean that there was no poetry. The editor well says, on page lxxxi, "that an epic is more than the work of a man, and is the production of many generations of primitive civilization." To my mind, the process of development was so gradual that, at no stage of the operation could one say: "Here begins the Oxford version."

The sentence beginning in the fourth line of page lxxxi might be clearer if it read: "The possibility that the earlier literature of France possessed epic poems did not even occur to the men of letters."

The statement of the order of publication of the volumes of the second edition of Gautier's *Épopées* is correctly given on page xcii. Numerous errors are made in other handbooks concerning this edition: see even the excellent *Ouvrages de Philologie Romane et Textes d'Ancien Français faisant Partie de la Bibliothèque de M. Carl Wahlund*, Upsal, 1889, page xii.

In line 2, page cxxi, correct 189 to 180. On page cxxvii, under No. 261, correct 1865 to 1885, and, on the same page, under No. 263, correct 1889 to 1890. On page cliii, under No. 338, after the colon, add: *Parte II*, 1900. The

seventh edition of G. Paris' *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland* is given (page cxix) as of the year 1903. The date is given as 1902 in the *Bibliographie des Travaux de Gaston Paris*, 1904, page 57. I do not know which date is the right one.

The translation offered by Professor Geddes is in prose, and, as such, attempts no poetic ornamentation. It is simple, clear, and not lacking in the dignity which the lofty subject comports. In his rendering of line 735, the editor has abandoned the reading of Müller; he has probably done well in so doing, but it would have been wise to indicate by a note his preference for *sevent* over *set*. Elegant as is the translation of line 744, it seems to me better to keep a little closer to the meaning of the word *vasselage*. In rendering *ajustée* of line 1461, I should prefer to treat the word as a past participle, and to so indicate it. The translation "pas de lâche pensée!" for the words "n'en alez mespésant" of line 1472, although following the accepted meaning of the line, seems to me erroneous.

The explanatory notes constitute one of the best constructed parts of the new volume. I add a few words with regard to several of these notes. The language concerning Balaguer, on page 168, is somewhat confusing: "unknown place . . . , the farthest eastern point which Roland's arms reached, is in Catalonia, about three miles from Lerida." In fact, many maps show this town: vid., for example, *Parallela Geographica*, by P. Brietius, Paris, 1648, Vol. I, p. 309. The place is not mentioned in the atlas of Ptolemy dated 1462, but appears in other editions. The immediate surroundings of Balaguer include Lerida, Fraga, and the Segre, and are rich in legends. A distinction should probably be made between Balaguer and *les ports de Balaguer*, which are named in many poems. The latter place seems to me to be the important pass in the Col de Balaguer, which is the name of a chain of hills on the road from Tarragona to Tortosa: vid. *Romania*, xxxiv, page 240, Note 1. Some ancient maps show a town, Balaguer or Balaer, on the sea at this point, vid. *La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino*, translated by Ruscelli, Venice, 1561. The editor is doubtless aware of all of these facts, but chooses, for reasons not clear to me, to con-

sider the town of Balaguer to be unknown. The remark of Professor Geddes on page 182, where he says that the mention of Cerdagne in line 856 (terre Certeine) does not satisfy the conditions of the passage, is justified. The name appears in a number of poems, sometimes perhaps under the form *Certeine terre*. In the uncertain condition of our present knowledge of the geography of Catalonia, it would be unwise to speculate on the possible real application of this name. The same remark may be made with regard to *Bire* and *Imphe* (see the celebrated lines 3995-98 of the *Roland*). The editor does well to reject (page 234, cf. page cvi) the jaunty identification proposed by K. Hofmann, *Romanische Forschungen*, I, page 429. The most valuable suggestion that has been made on this subject is perhaps that of G. Paris, *Orson de Beauvais*, pages 182-183. There is other evidence to give weight to the suggestion of G. Paris, but this is not the occasion for a long discussion. The editor shows again good judgment in placing *Noples* and *Commibles* among the unknown places. He might have mentioned among the interesting discussions of these names that of G. Paris, *Romania*, XI, page 489. Paris favors the variant *Morinde* instead of *Commibles*, and rejects the suggestion of *Moranda* as not fitting. This latter name in the form given does not of course suit the assonance, but a town *Moranda* seems to have been known to some ancient geographers, if we may judge by a map in my possession, dated at Lyons in 1538 and showing evidence of having been copied from a much older map. A town *Moranda* appears on this map in the immediate neighborhood of *Roumvallis*. The reading *Commibles*, as Paris says, would probably indicate Coïmbre, which seems to me a perfectly good reading, in spite of the objections that have been brought against it. Or, one might see in the reading *Commibles* a derived form of the Spanish *Colibre*, a coast town not far from Perpignan, whose name is, according to P. de Marca, derived from an ancient *Caucoliberum* or *Caucoliberis*, according to others from *Illiberis*.

The phrase on page 184: "Throughout the period known as the *Cycle de Guillaume* (tenth and eleventh centuries)," is unfortunate. Perhaps the following wording would better render the thought: "period whose events are celebrated in

poems of the *Cycle*," etc.? On page 187, the sentence beginning in the second line seems to need some slight qualification, such as: "Traces or possible imitations of this episode are to be seen in," etc.

The refutation of the *Chronique de Turpin* by Leibnitz is mentioned on page xcii. The earlier refutation by Claude Fauchet might have been mentioned also: *Oeuvres*, I, page 229 b. The statements made on page 206 concerning *la brèche de Roland* find confirmation in the *Codex de St.-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, edited by Fita and Vinson, Paris, 1882, pages 15 and 43. We are told in these passages that the stone cut by Roland was preserved in a church at the entrance of the valley of Roncevaux. The supposed date of the *Codex* is about 1130. The editor speaks of the *Pelerinage de Charlemagne* and of the *Voyage de Charlemagne*; see the index. It would be better to adopt one of these names,—the former preferably. On page 211, he ascribes this poem to the twelfth century. Although its date is still somewhat problematic, the arguments for the eleventh century seem to me to have the greater weight. The reference to Rabel in the index, page 302, seems to contain an error. The word *Willehalm* is misprinted on pages cxi and 315. The reference, on the latter page, should read "p. cxi."

RAYMOND WEEKS.

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The Complete Dramatic and Poetic Works of William Shakespeare, edited by WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

The mechanical excellences of this edition of Shakespeare deserve especial notice. All the plays and poems are comprised in a single volume, which, altho extending to 1250 pages, is convenient for either reading or reference. The line numbers of the Globe edition are retained; the page is open; the type clear and of fair size; the printing and the proof-reading excellent; everything contributes to make this easily the best one-volume edition of Shakespeare.

The volume is also notable for many merits other than the mechanical. The biographical sketch and the introductions to the separate plays are models of judicious condensation and comprehensiveness. Nothing of importance in the entire field of Shakespearean research seems to have escaped the editor. His few pages of comment must be regarded as constituting not only valuable introductions to the reading of the plays, but also singularly competent summaries of the results of Shakespearean criticism up to the present time. His esthetic comments in particular are compact, suggestive, and sane to a degree rarely attained. He has also attacked with scholarly thoroughness the enormous task of editing the text. As a result we have the first American edition for many years that is based upon an independent examination of folio and quartos; and a text that in many particulars presents improvements upon that of any preceding edition of the complete works.

The text of each play is based on a single source, quarto or folio as the case may be, and all additions from another source are bracketed. Consequently the integrity of the text is clearly indicated; and we are never in doubt whether we are reading quarto or folio, or a modern composite of the two. The exact stage directions of the original editions are also preserved; and all additions to stage directions, or designations of act or scene due to later editors are bracketed. These distinctions, so essential for all students of the early drama, are of no little importance for the ordinary reader of the plays, who ought certainly to be informed what is original and what sophisticated. Similarly in accord with the best methods of textual criticism is the editor's conservatism in retaining the reading of the early edition wherever it is intelligible in preference to later emendation.

In one respect this adherence to the folio may excite some doubt. The large number of cases in the folio where *ed* is printed instead of *'d* leads Professor Neilson to conclude that the *ed* was sounded more frequently than we are accustomed to hear it, and that a different elision was made from that usual to-day; hence, for example, he prints *threat'ned* rather than *threaten'd*. It is to be hoped that Professor Neilson will publish a full analysis of his data bearing on this question, since it is one of considerable importance for the meter of the plays.

In another matter, that of punctuation, he has made a still more radical departure from preceding editors. The punctuation of the Folio is inconsistent and often absurd, and certainly does not represent Shakespeare's own usage. It does, however, preserve, along with the idiosyncracies of the compositors and the exigencies of the printing office, certain practices prevailing in Shakespeare's time and different from our own.

In all critical editions the punctuation has been greatly changed and modernized; but, as these critical editions began early in the eighteenth century, and as each editor has retained much of the punctuation of the preceding editors, the result is that the Cambridge or Globe or more recent editions present a peculiarly composite punctuation,—sometimes that of late nineteenth century, sometimes of the early years, sometimes that of eighteenth century editors, Pope, Theobald, or Johnson, and sometimes reminiscent of the Elizabethan punctuation as represented in the Folio. Realizing all this, and realizing that our practices in punctuation are still changing and by no means arrived at any general agreement, the editor of Shakespeare finds the problem of punctuation a complex and difficult one. Professor Neilson has solved it by re-punctuating throughout frankly according to modern usage.

In many instances this is an improvement. Commas and semicolons appear with greater intelligibility and less inconsistency than in most other editions. In other cases the gain is not so apparent. The dash, used sparingly by preceding editors and restricted by Dyce to indicate either an unfinished speech or a change in the person addressed by the speaker, is used by Professor Neilson to indicate any abrupt break in the sense. For example, in the 119 lines of Act II, Scene 1 of *Hamlet*, where it is so used but once in the Cambridge or Oxford editions and not once in the Folio, it is so used four times in the present edition. On the whole, the more restricted use of earlier editors seems to have the advantage; for the dash is likely to be over-used in dramatic dialogue, unless conventional restrictions are adhered to.

It is, however, the substitution of the period for the colon that produces the most noticeable alterations in the text. The colon in Elizabethan usage, as Ben Jonson tells us in his *Grammar*, marked "a pause," "a distinction of a sentence, though perfect in itself, yet joined to another," and further distinguished from "a period." This usage prevailed in the eighteenth century; but to-day the colon has been largely replaced by the semicolon on the one hand and the period on the other. The substitution of a semicolon for a colon makes little difference to the eye; but the substitution of a period changes the entire appearance of the sentences. Instead of a piece of discourse, broken by stops but continuous to the eye, we may have a series of short sentences apparently equally disconnected from one another.

A few lines from Hamlet's best known soliloquy may illustrate the difficulties of punctuating Shakespeare and the importance of the treatment of the colon. The letters, F, C, N represent the Folio, Cambridge Editors, Neilson. When F is

omitted, there is no punctuation at that place in the Folio :

To be, or not to be (F, C : N :) that is the question (F : C : N.)

.....

That flesh is heir to (F ? C, N.) 'Tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd. To die (C, N ;) to sleep (F, C ;
N ;—)

To sleep (F, C : N ?) Perchance to dream (F ; C : N :)
Ay, there's the rub (F, C ; N ;)

.....

Must give us pause (F, C : N.) There's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life (F : C ; N.)

In these six lines there are eight places in which Professor Neilson punctuates differently from the Cambridge editors. Once he restores the period of the F. for the colon of later editors ; but twice he substitutes a period for the colon of F., and once an exclamation mark and once an interrogation for colons of C., and a comma and semi-colon of F.

It would seem that modernization of punctuation ought to rectify obvious errors, to supplant the old when it is misleading in accord with modern usage, and to rectify sophistication due to editorial peculiarity or to by-gone fashions ; but that one should hesitate to adopt changes that alter distinctly the appearance of lines or suggest a change in emphasis. The colon marking a pause might still be generally retained in Shakespeare as it is in editions of Addison or De Foe.

This matter of the colon, tho not of great importance in itself, may illustrate the thoroughness of Professor Neilson's editorial work and the importance which it must have for Shakespearean students and editors. It may also serve as an example of the numerous questions of detail in the text of Shakespeare that still await authoritative determination. It cannot be said that the labors of the textual critics have resulted in a text of Shakespeare that is an authoritative one. The monumental works of Dr. Furness and of Messrs. Clark and Wright deserve, of course, all respect. But the Variorum does not attempt to supply a text for the general reader ; and the Cambridge Shakespeare is now forty years old, and its later revisions have left it still defective in many respects, which any competent editor to-day would alter. A new text is needed for a standard library edition, for the use of scholars, and indeed as a basis for the school editions which yearly multiply. The general principles which should guide its editing are well determined, but many matters remain that can be decided only by a representative body of scholars.

A committee which would decide on debatable questions and which would supervise the editorial work of individual members might successfully undertake the task. At a time when editions of

Shakespeare are so numerous, and when elaborate reproductions of original editions are so readily undertaken, and when collaborative undertakings in criticism are in fashion, the opportunity for a standard text of Shakespeare seems ripe.

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La Vie Saint Edmund le Rei : An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Twelfth Century, by DENIS PYRAMUS, edited, with Introduction and Critical Notes, by Florence Leftwich Ravenel. Philadelphia, 1906. (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Vol. v, edited by a committee of the Faculty : President M. C. Thomas, *ex-officio* ; Professors E. P. Kohler, D. Irons, and H. N. Sanders.)

The basis of this monograph is a new copy of the unique London manuscript, executed for the editor, we are told, by Mr. E. A. Herbert, and reviewed by Miss E. Fahnstock. The editor's work consists chiefly in a study of the language of the *Vie Saint Edmund* for the purpose of determining the date of the author, Denis Pyramus. The conclusion reached is that the *Vie Saint Edmund* was written between 1190 and 1200 ; G. Paris previously had placed the work "at the end of the twelfth century." The language of copyist and author are carefully distinguished, and a comparison of the latter is made with the language of the *Lois Guillaume* and the Cambridge Psalter, of Adgar, Chardri, and Frère Angier. "In general," remarks the editor, "the language of Adgar corresponds strikingly with that of our text." At first sight this opinion seems to accord but ill with the date 1190-1200, for Adgar is named (p. 48) as of "about 1170,"—a generation earlier. Mrs. Ravenel, however, might have cited Gröber, who places Adgar in the last decade of the twelfth century.

It will be remembered that the *Vie Saint Edmund* had been edited in part by Michel, in 1838, and in full by T. Arnold, in 1892. Mr. Arnold's edition was that of a historian who included the French poem among the voluminous "Memorials"—mostly in Latin—of St. Edmund's Abbey. The present editor reproduces, with some fullness, G. Paris' severe remarks upon Mr. Arnold's lack of preparation for the task of editing an Old French text. Mrs. Ravenel adds some strictures of her own, complaining that Mr. Arnold neglected obvious emendations, that he often emended where the manuscript is right, and finally that some of his conjectures, definitions and notes were absurd. In the interest of fairness it seems necessary to

show that Mrs. Ravenel lays herself open repeatedly to the same reproaches, and to some others no less serious.

Chief among these is that the editor has generally failed to go to the bottom of the linguistic questions involved. Of these, we may select two as of particular importance: (1) the question of metre, and (2) the question as to the reduction of *ie* to *e*.

Did Denis Pyramus, as Gröber affirms, construct metrically correct lines, or not? Mrs. Ravenel's answer is unsatisfactory. She seems unaware that in an Anglo-Norman poem, presumably written in octosyllables, a verse in which a ninth or a tenth is the last tonic syllable is on a very different footing from that of a verse in which the last tonic is the seventh, or even the sixth. In the text before us, lines often remain too long by one or two syllables; others, often easily emended, are left too short. 203 MS. and editor: *Il sentre demanderent quil sunt*; obviously, *Il s'entredemandent qu'il (or qui) sunt*. 1158, *Ke la dame ert de grant age* (read *eage*). Similarly: 20, *metrai* for *metrai*; 149, *pussent* for *peüssent*; 266, *Oïrent* for *Oënt* or *Oient*; 308, *poines* (?) for *poinz*; 627, *Son offerande* for *s'offrande*; 1164, *of le* for *al*; 2113, *gelins* (!) for *gelines*; 1443, *oiz* for *oëz*; 2284, *gemist* probably for *geinst*, etc., etc. Is hiatus found in mid-verse (e. g., 981, 2187, 2722, 3416, etc.)? The editor does not raise this question.

These are cases where a judicious change might have restored the author's metre: The editor frequently inserts or discards a syllable to the detriment of the metre. 135 MS.: *E pus jesque Uterpendragun*; editor: *Pus jesque*, etc. 1281 MS.: *Si est mult grant signiffance*; editor: *Si est [de] mult*, etc. 3414 MS.: *Par force les unt en nefz mis*; editor: *en [lur] nefz*, etc. So 1455, 2722, etc. Moreover, Mrs. Ravenel seems not to understand the proper use of the sign of dieresis: 103, *Säisnes* (*Saisnes* correctly 419); 1438, *ait HABEAT*; 2404, *träistrent*; 794, *resceüt*; 2889, *dulceür* (!), etc.

Still more serious liberties are taken with correct readings of the manuscript in the supposed interest of metre, or of grammar: *ne* is often altered to *ni* (148, 1731, 2798, etc.); *departir* is transferred to the First Conjugation (381; the rime-word *lotir* is well known); *miedi* is replaced by *midi* (1181, 1449); *tel*, and other adjectives of Declension II, are forced to appear as *tele*, etc. (1441, 1545-6, 2899, 2900); *respons* is changed to *response* (2328); *requeste* to *requist* (?) (3483); *cointe* to *coint* (510, 1047, 1343); *le boëlin* to *la boeline* (1381), altho *boëlin* occurs in rime at 1455; *occeüssent* to *ocisent* (2342); *païs*¹ must be

¹ By a confusion of ideas, Mrs. Ravenel refers to the word *païs* (p. 17) as one containing "a true diphthong."

read as one syllable (1973); the Old French word-order is *le vus*² not *rus le* (2238), etc., etc.

The French language, unfortunately for the poets but happily for scholars, has never possessed this high degree of elasticity: the editor's *seintment* (1654) must—not may—be *seintement*; *errantement* (3416, 3427) and *entendantement* (1832) cannot stand; *soventement* (2874) is inadmissible as well as unnecessary; *vaslez* (3659), introduced instead of the obscure *vasez* of the manuscript, did not rime in the twelfth century with *desvez*, nor has the difference between the two vowels involved disappeared from modern French.

For the matter of the date of Denis Pyramus and his work, the question, Had or had not *ie* been reduced to *e*? has its importance. As is known, compositions not showing this change were placed by Suchier in the first period of Anglo-Norman literature. Mrs. Ravenel states (p. 18) that in the *Vie St. Edmund* "not more than half a dozen" examples are found where *ie* and *e* rime: "187, *bachelor:conquester*" (this, of course, is not a case in point, *bachelor* being good Old French); "1553 [error for 1653] *justiser:mer*" (a suspicious couplet, and cp. 715, *justisier:mes-tier*, and 771, *justisiers:dreituriens*). A rapid review of the rimes in question reveals some 290 pairs with *e* unmixed, and about 120 with *ie* unmixed. There remain, however, 3189 *cessez:jugiez*, 869 *waimenter:conseillier*, and 3133 *enfundrer:dreeier*, a percentage so small as hardly to warrant the exclusion of the *Vie saint Edmund* from Suchier's first group. Equally in need of a more thorough examination, because of their bearing upon the question of date, were the rimes like 2974, *merciðé:conquesté* (add 681, 877, 1343, 3965, 2720). Here, it seems, Denis Pyramus is to be classed with Wace and Guillaume le Clerc, while in Marie's *Lais* we find a case of the later *mercier*.³

Two or three other questions of language⁴ are dismissed either with a hasty generalization, or overlooked. At page 18 the editor states that "-ant does not rhyme regularly with -ent: cp., however, 1459, *talent:portant*." Mrs. Ravenel omits to mention that at 1587 we have *talent:oriënt*, and that *oriënt* (not *oriant*) seems assured for the author (cp. 400, 1179, 1471, 2090). A glance into Suchier's *Grammatik* (p. 67) would have shown that the Norman poets, including

² The editor leaves unchanged throughout the incorrect *li* (tonic masculine) in spite of the rather broad hint of the rime *lui:ambedui* (3443, and 3603).

³ Cp. Suchier's *Grammatik*, p. 24.

⁴ I refer to the questions (1) as to the metrical value of words of the type of *eüstes*, *empereür*, *decoleür*, etc., in which syneresis would be surprising indeed; (2) as to the metrical value of *maladie*, *veraie*, *-eüent*, etc.; (3) as to the word *evesque*, which Denis Pyramus seems at times to use as a word of two syllables.

Marie, employ *talent* and *talant*; to these Denis Pyramus should have been added.

Insufficient care has been given to the punctuation. At times a dependent phrase is cut off from the principal clause (1685-6), or from its verb (1841). Indeed, the editor not infrequently places a period in the *beau milieu* of a sentence (1297, 2119, 2122, 2309).⁵

As a linguistic study the work is somewhat pretentious and, on the whole, superficial. It can hardly be said to be worthy of the tradition established by Prof. Menger at Bryn Mawr College. Had the author omitted nearly all the introductory matter; had she attacked the text soberly and carefully, aiming to assemble and arrange all the material furnished (much of it is of great interest); had she then succeeded in formulating satisfactory answers to a few of the more important questions of metre and grammar; had she appended to the whole a fairly complete glossary—a real and important service would have been rendered to Romance studies. As the work lies before us, there is doubt whether—aside from the new copy of the manuscript (executed by others) and with the further possible exception of the association of Denis Pyramus with Adgar, as mentioned above—this effort on the part of the editor has led to any important results. In fact, as G. Paris said of Mr. Arnold's edition of the *Vie Saint Edmund*, "This edition can render but very little service during the period which must elapse before a better one appears."

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The King's English [Preface signed H. W. F. and F. G. F.]. Second edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906.

The King's English, the second edition of which follows immediately on the first, is a new instance of an old and well-known type of composition. Its title might have been *Five Thousand Errors of English Speech*; for it takes its place with that long list of books which strive to teach one how to speak and write English by telling what one may not do. The compilers have shown great industry and not a little judgment in collecting their examples. Among British sources, the newspapers and a few modern authors such as Stevenson, Huxley, Benson, Miss Corelli, etc., are chiefly

⁵ The line references in the Introduction are provokingly inexact. On page 18, out of 19 references, seven are incorrect. In a cursory reading, serious misprints were noted in ll. 145, 563, 1611, 1818, 2327, 3840.

drawn upon. The British citations have thus the pertinency of contemporary use. The same cannot be said for the examples from American English, Emerson and Prescott being the only American writers from whom frequent illustrations are taken. These authors serve fairly well, however, to point the compilers' moral, which is the viciousness of American usage. The material of the book is well ordered, so that one inclined to use it can do so conveniently and rapidly.

The one canon of use which the book recognizes is correctness. It assumes a sort of hard and fast standard etiquette of English speech, familiar, of course, to the compilers but assumedly unknown to the rest of the world. This etiquette the compilers graciously set forth for the guidance of others less fortunate than they. Much of their counsel is undoubtedly good, as indeed is true of most conventional books of etiquette; but the tone of authority, not to say superiority, with which it is presented is surely calculated to drive all except the most humble-minded into a perverse rebellion against even such of their decisions as are innocent. There are, however, instances enough which offer ground for reasonable difference of opinion. Opening the book at random, we find illustrations on almost every page. Thus the following sentence, from the *London Times*, "A boy dressed up as a girl and a girl dressed up as a boy is, to the eye at least, the same thing," we are told must have the verb in the plural. Yet on logical grounds how easy it is to defend either singular or plural in the sentence. In the following sentence from Stevenson, "But though I would not willingly part with such scraps of science, I do not set the same store by them," the compilers ask us to change *would* to *should*. Thackeray is chastised for writing *that* instead of *whether* in the sentence, "I doubt, I say, that Becky would have selected either of these young men." For the sentence, "What wonder that the most docile of Russians should be crying out, 'how long!'" we are told that the 'correct' punctuation would be:—long??" If this is correct, let us even dwell in our error!

The defenders of *King's English* are—not unexpectedly though quite gratuitously—the sworn enemies of American English, Mr. Kipling, for his sins, being classed with the Americans. The compilers admit that Mr. Kipling is "a very great writer," but strongly fear that "he and his school are Americanizing" the British public. This Americanization is shown in "a sort of remorseless and scientific efficiency in the choice of epithets." Several illustrations are quoted which are said to be "extremely efficient"—their efficiency apparently being their defect. The compilers wisely attempt no logical defense of their position, but conclude with the following familiar

echo of insular British opinion: "Any one who agrees with us in this will see in it an additional reason for jealously excluding American words or phrases. The English and the American language and literature are both good things; but they are better apart than mixed."

Despite some wise remarks about cheap and slang phraseology, the compilers use such English as "reach-me-down archaisms"; neglecting their own advice with respect to the sparing use of foreign quotations, within the space of two pages they employ four trite Latin phrases, *mutatis mutandis*, *ex officio*, *corpus vile*, and *reductio ad absurdum* (twice); and in the face of their own severe strictures on polysyllabic humor and the use of the big word, they have not been saved from speaking of "bad hypertrophy of the grammatical conscience."

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The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. CHURTON COLLINS, Litt. D. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. 2 vols., 8vo., xii + 319 and 415 pp.

That the value of an edition of this kind will depend almost altogether on the faithfulness with which the original text is reproduced, or else the care with which it is freed from obvious errors, is a truth which is fully realized by Professor Collins. "Each play," he tells us in the preface, "was transcribed literally from the oldest Quarto extant; . . . and to the text of these Quartos my text scrupulously adheres, except where the reading of some of the later Quartos either makes sense of nonsense or presents a reading which is obviously and strikingly preferable." Criticising previous editions of Greene, he states that no other edition would have been necessary had Dyce "adhered faithfully to the original, had he been thorough in collation," and less sparing in his notes and introductions. Grosart's judgment "was unhappily not equal to his enthusiasm, his scholarship to his ambition, or his accuracy to his diligence." Accordingly when to Professor Collins was entrusted the preparation of this edition, he determined, he says, "to spare no pains to make it, so far at least as the text was concerned, a final one."

If, then, the reviewer of this work lays stress on the correctness or incorrectness of the text, no injustice will be done thereby. The criticisms which follow are based on independent examination of several of the Quartos, most of which

are to be found in the British Museum, and a careful comparison of their text with that of Professor Collins. It is believed that very few of the errors cited here have been noted elsewhere in print.¹

Many textual errors are merely misprints. So apparently are to be judged in the text of *Alphonso*, l. 86, "little" for "litle"; 275, "renowne" for "renowine"; 306, "than" for "then"; 489, "to" for "do"; 569 and 615, "Atropos" for "Attropos"; f. n. to p. 96, "Micos" for "Milos"; in *Orlando Furioso*, l. 86, f. n., "Calvars" for "Caluars"; in *James IV*, l. 652, f. n., "tombe" for "tomb"; 2451, f. n., "learns" for "learne." In spite of the exercise of every precaution misprints will creep into all published works, but certainly in the reprinting of exceedingly rare Elizabethan texts, scholars have a right to demand that the number of such errors be reduced to a minimum.

In many other places the editor or the transcriber silently corrects the reading of his original. Throughout *James IV* the names of the speakers occur in very different form from that of the Quarto. For example, the first three speeches are assigned to "Boh.", "Ober.", and "Boh." respectively, where the Quarto spells out each word. In the same play l. 1691, the Quarto has, "*car vous est mort*," but Professor Collins prints without note, "*car uous estes morte*." Again, l. 627, Q. reads "tene"; Collins silently changes to "leuy." In *Friar Bacon*, 354, occurs the word "price" in the text, and in a footnote, "prize" is cited as a variant of Dyce and Ward; but it is nowhere stated that the three quartos of the play consistently read "prise." At l. 412 of the same play we have "vale of Troy," where again all the quartos read "vale by Troy," and the correction is silently made. *George a Greene*, 208, Collins reads "< and > Sir Nicholas Mannerling." Since conical brackets are used in this edition to indicate the insertion of words not found in the Quartos, one is surprised in turning to the Quarto to see the words, "and Nicholas" in place of the three words expected. In the same play, lines 56-60, 64-66, 79-82, 114-115, 119-121, 125-128, 134-138, 140-144; and in *James IV*, lines 1127-1129, 1154-1155, 1168-1171, and 1179-1182, all of which the Quartos print as verse, are silently changed to prose. Perhaps Professor Collins was justified in making each one of these changes, but his readers should have been notified of the fact that they are changes.

If Dyce is to be criticised for not adhering

¹For a more extended review of the book and another list of textual blunders, the reader is referred to the article of W. W. Greg in the *Modern Language Review*, Cambridge, Eng., I, 238-251.

"faithfully to the original," one would not expect to find in this text even minor errors due to deliberate carelessness on the part of the editor or of the transcriber. Yet one cannot read through the plays without gaining the impression that words have been capitalized entirely at random, and according to no fixed principle. That this is not due to the editor's faithful adherence to the original is shown by the fact that in the text of *Alphonsus*, for example, capitals are employed where they are not used in the Quarto at lines 23, 43, 45, 116, 187, 235, 274, 275, 281, 305, 372, 394, 434, etc. In the same play, "and" is printed in place of the "&" of the Quarto at lines 47, 127, 415, 933, etc. This last mistake occurs again in *James IV* at lines 37, 49, 272, 295, 748, 1481, etc.; but the complementary blunder, the printing of the ampersand for the "and" of the Quarto, is found in *James IV*, 195, 224, 254, 255, 283, 285, 1111, 1115, 1420, 1426, 1437, 1471, etc. When errors like these occur with such frequency, one's faith in the finality of this text is rudely shaken.

But after all, these may be matters of detail which of themselves are of little importance. Carelessness becomes more reprehensible when it leads an editor into absolute misstatements of fact concerning the texts to which he asserts that his own text "scrupulously adheres." Such a misstatement occurs in the *Alphonsus* with reference to the stage direction after line 174. In a footnote Professor Collins says that in the Quarto the words are not italicized but are printed "as part of text." An examination of the Quarto in question will show that the words there are italicized and are not printed as part of the text.² In *George a Greene*, line 87, Professor Collins corrects the spacing of the verse in the Quarto, stating in a footnote that the Quarto spacing is "bonnet | To the bench." In reality, the spacing of the Quarto is "bonnet to | The bench." Inasmuch as the sole purpose of the note is to give the line in its original spacing, the error is worthy of remark. *Orlando Furioso*, line 37, "Sauours"; Dyce is accredited with the variant, "favours," which in fact is the reading of both Quartos of the play. *James IV*, 590 reads: "For by the persons sights there hangs some ill." A footnote informs readers that in the Quarto the word next to the last in the line reads "from," but that Grosart prints it "som . . . as if from Q." In a further note on the line in the same volume, page 354, Professor Collins observes: "This is very difficult; the 'from' plainly makes no sense. Dyce silently prints 'some' and Dr. Grosart 'som.'" Grosart's silence is commendable, since

"som" is the exact reading of the Quarto, and the "from" is of modern manufacture.

Thus it may be gathered that in spite of the editor's declaration of his scrupulous adherence to the originals, his text is carelessly printed from beginning to end. Of the thoroughness of his collation, even less is to be said. A very few illustrations will suffice to make clear his shortcomings in this respect.

In the first twenty lines of the *Looking Glasse* it is not stated that in the opening stage direction Qq. 2, 3, read "Crete"; that in line 1, Q. 3 gives the speaker's name, "Rasni," and Qq. 2, 4, read "triumphant" for "tryumphant"; that in line 2, Qq. 3, 4, have "pompe"; that in line 4, Qq. 2, 4, read "Cauallieres"; that in line 5, Qq. 2, 3, 4, read "Rasnies"; that in line 7, Q. 2 has "fortuns"; that in line 8, Qq. 2, 3, 4, have "Rasnies," Q. 2, "excellency," Q. 3, "excellencie"; that in line 10, the reading of Qq. 2, 3, 4, is "streames"; that in line 11, Q. 4 reads "City"; that in line 12, Q. 4 reads "dayes journeyes"; that in line 17, the same Quarto has "footstoole," and in line 18 has "feet." Similar confusion may be observed in the variants given for the text of the same play, on page 157 of the first volume. There as to line 407 it is stated that "so" is the reading of Qq. 2, 3, 5; it is also the reading of Q. 4. In line 411 "Remilias" is the reading of Qq. 2, 4 as well as of Q. 5. In line 412 "excellencie" is found not only in Q. 5, as stated, but also in Qq. 2, 3. In line 417 "eye" is the reading not alone of Qq. 2, 5, but of Qq. 3, 4 as well. In line 420 "plac'd" is the reading of Q. 3, "plaste" of Q. 4, where the reverse statement is made. In line 424, Qq. 2, 3, 4, contain the variant "Mustering" though the fact is not noted. One effect of all these omissions is to make the text of Q. 5, which "was apparently unknown to Dyce," seem much more important than it really is. Throughout this play Professor Collins has apparently noted nowhere that Q. 3 reads consistently "Remelia," when all the other quartos have "Remilia."

Another illustration of the thoroughness with which the collating has been done, may be taken from the text of *Friar Bacon*, vol. II, page 19. Variants given on this page are: "63, surpast, Q. 3; 66, than] then, Qq. 2, 3; 69, Court of Loue, Qq. 2, 3; 78, *Pallas*, Qq. 2, 3." These variants are not mentioned: 64, Damsel, Q. 3; 65, townes, Qq. 2, 3; 67, honors, Qq. 2, 3; 70, selfe, Q. 2; 76, Milkehouse, Q. 2; 80, chees, Q. 3; 81, cristall, Q. 2, cristal, Q. 3; 86, work, Q. 3; 87, Tarquin, Q. 3, Rome, Qq. 2, 3; 88, louely maid, Q. 2, lovely maid, Q. 3; 93, learn, Q. 3; 96, diuells, Q. 2, devils, Q. 3. It is acknowledged that each one of the variants omitted indicates merely a difference in spelling among the various

²Mr. Greg, in his review, calls attention to a precisely similar misstatement as to the stage direction after l. 334.

Quartos, but if the editor does not care to note orthographic differences, why should he include in his brief list the variants "than" for "then" and "Pallas" for "Pallace"? The inclusion of such variants leads the reader to believe that a thorough collation has been attempted. Textual omissions or errors like these might be cited from almost every page of the edition. Those mentioned have been chosen practically at random.

Other features of this work must be passed over briefly. The elucidatory notes, though judicious, will not prove especially illuminating to ordinary students. The special introductions to the plays are apparently products of haste and frequently contradictory statements made elsewhere in the volumes.³ To the General Introduction the editor would probably attach more value than to any other part of the work. His discussion of Greene's life and writings, while not marked by brilliancy of form or treatment, displays sanity in dealing with questions which have certainly provoked the exercise of other qualities in the past. In particular, his rejection of Grosart's theories as to Greene's ordination to the ministry and the authorship of *Selinus* will command general assent. It is to be regretted that Professor Collins did not know that he was anticipated in both cases, as well as in his proposed chronological order of Greene's plays, by Professor Gayley, whose introduction to the *Friar Bacon*⁴ is the most sensible and accurate discussion of Greene's work that is now in print. Professor Collins's similar ignorance of Professor Manly's text of the *James IV*⁵ with the emendations there proposed, is another cause for regret.

But most of those who are attracted to the book, especially that large class of scholars to whom the original Quartos are inaccessible, will be disposed to welcome the publication primarily as an authoritative text of Greene's plays. Their expectations will not be realized. For the statements made in the preface as to the fidelity and care with which the most important part of the task has been undertaken, are totally misleading.

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³ For example, opinions expressed concerning the date of *Alphonsus*, I, 70, 74-75 are inconsistent with I, 39-42 on the same subject.

⁴ *Representative English Comedies*, New York, 1903, pp. 397 ff.

⁵ *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, Boston, 1900, II, 327 ff.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TELL ME, WHERE IS FANCY BRED.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Has the immediate source ever been pointed out of the song in *Merchant of Venice*, III, 2:

Tell me, where is fancy bred,
Or in the heart or in the head?
How begot, how nourished?
Reply, reply.
It is engender'd in the eyes,
With gazing fed; etc.?

A remote source is certainly the sonnet of Jacopo da Lentino, quoted by d'Ancona in his *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, Florence, 1904,—I, 62:

NATURA E ORIGINE D'AMORE.

Amore è un disio che vien dal core,
Per l'abbondanza di gran piacimento;
E gli occhi in prima generan l'Amore,
E lo core li dà nutrimento.
Bene è alcuna fiata uomo amatore
Senza vedere suo 'nnamoramento;
Ma quell' amor, che stringe con furore,
Da la vista de gli occhi ha nascimento.
Che gli occhi rappresentano a lo core
D'ogni cosa che veden bono e rio,
Com' è formata naturalmente.
E lo cor che di ciò è concepitore,
Immagina; e piace quel disio;
E questo Amore regna fra la gente.

Perhaps some student of sources and of the various versions of conventional themes will find an interest in tracing the origins of this thirteenth century sonnet, and the links between it and Shakespeare's song.

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MARY LUCRETIA DAVIDSON.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I beg to call to the attention of your readers a biography of the American poetess, Mary Lucretia Davidson, in Italian, with selections from her poems, by Professor G. V. Callegari of the University of Padua.¹ It is nothing new that the study of English literature should be cultivated by learned Italians, but that an author so little known in her own country as Lucretia Davidson should be made the subject of special study is remarkable. Some explanation is to be found in the preface to this edition, from which one gathers that there is a personal and sentimental element, connected with the play by Gia-

¹ *Lucrezia Maria Davidson, con un saggio delle sue poesie. Padova, Verona, Drucker, 1906.*

cometti in which the life of the poetess is dramatized, in the making of the book. It is, therefore, a labor of love, but none the less creditable to the author and his nation, as evidence of their far-reaching interest in literature, and flattering to us.

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Johns Hopkins University.

AN UNNOTED SOURCE OF *L'Allegro*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The various editors of the works of Milton have determined many of the sources of *L'Allegro*, but one source seems to have been unobserved. I refer to the introductory verses of the narrative lyric, 'The Sunne when he had spred his raies,' which appeared in the second edition of Tottle's *Miscellany*, among the poems attributed to 'Unknown Authors.' The opening verses of the poem read as follows:

- The Sunne when he had spred his raies,
And shewde his face ten thousand waies,
Ten thousand things do then begin,
To shew the life that they are in.
5 The heauen shewes linely art and hue,
Of sundry shapes and colours new,
And laughs vpon the earth anone.
The earth as cold as any stone,
Wet in the teares of her own kinde:
10 Gins then to take a ioyfull minde.
For well she feesles that out and out,
The sunne doth warme her round about,
And dries her children tenderly,
And shewes them forth full orderly,
15 The mountaines hye and how they stand,
The valies and the great maine land,
The trees, the herbes, the towers strong,
The castels and the riuers long.
And euen for ioy thus of his heate,
20 She sheweth furth her pleasures great.
And sleepes no more but sendeth forth
Her clergions her own dere worth,
To mount and flye vp to the ayre,
Where then they sing in order fayre,
25 And tell in song full merely,
How they haue slept full quietly
That night about their mothers sides.
And when they haue song more besides,
Then fall they to their mothers breastes,
30 Where els they fede or take their restes.
The hunter then soundes out his horne.
And rangeth strait through wood and corne.
On hilles then shew the Ewe and Lambe,
And euery yong one with his dambe.
35 Then louers walke and tell their tale,
Both of their blisse and of their bale,
And how they serue, and how they do,
And how their lady loues them to.
(Arber's reprint, p. 230.)

The general similarity of this succession of morning pictures to those in *L'Allegro* is of course apparent, but the correspondence is not

merely a general one. Thus with verses 1-6, compare *L'Allegro* 60-62:

Where the great Sun begins his state,
Robed in flames and amber light,
The clouds in thousand liveries dight.

With verses 15-18, compare *L'Allegro* 73-78:

Mountains on whose barren breast
The labouring clouds do often rest;
Meadows trim, with daisies pied;
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide;
Towers and battlements it sees
Bosomed high in tufted trees.

With verses 31-32, compare *L'Allegro* 53-56:

Oft listening how the hounds and horn
Cheerly rouse the slumbering morn,
From the side of some hoar hill.
Through the high wood echoing shrill.

With verses 35-38, compare *L'Allegro* 67-68:

And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.

Ever since Warton first proposed that 'the word *tale* does not here imply stories told by shepherds, but that it is a technical term for *numbering* sheep,' opinion has been divided as to the meaning of this last couplet. In support of his position, Warton cites W. Browne, *Shepherd's Pipe* (1614), *Egl. v.*:

Where the shepheards from the fold,
All their bleating charges told;
And, full careful, search'd if one
Of all the flock was hurt or gone;

and Dryden, *Vergil, Bucol. 3, 33*:

And once she takes the *tale* of all my lambs.
(Todd, *Milton's Poet. Wks.* (1842) 3, 394).

On the other hand, the more popular interpretation, that the shepherd talks of love, is, as Masson observes, 'more pleasing,' and it is a custom as old as the Greek pastoral life. This interpretation receives weighty support from the comparison instituted above.¹

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¹ Gavin Douglas's *Proloug of the twelt buik* (cf. Warton, III, 220 f.), which for other reasons should be kept in mind in connection with the poem cited from Tottle's *Miscellany*, is also sympathetic with that other 'tale' that always will be told:

And thoctful luffaris rowmys to and fro
To leis thar payne, and plene thar joly wo;

but the satisfaction of a 'more pleasing' conclusion, the abettor of many a popular fallacy, must be restrained when, as in the present instance, there is no escape from the tamer satisfaction of advocating what is indisputably clear.
—J. W. B.